

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—1st Eccl. xxi. 8, 9.

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We take the liberty of using the names of the following gentlemen who will receive names and subscriptions for the *Monthly* :

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Derby—Dr. SPENCER T. HALL, Burton Road.

Glasgow—Mr. JOHN SMITH, 173 Trongate.

Halifax—Rev. RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, Milton Place.

Leeds—Mr. ARTHUR HOLLAND, 4 Park Row.

Newcastle-on-Tyne—Mr. W. S. PRINGLE.

GERRIT SMITH'S LETTER.

According to promise, we publish in our present number Mr. SMITH's letter to Mr. THOMAS in favor of the discontinuance of the only annual Abolition meeting now held in the State of New York, from which the peculiar views of Mr. SMITH on the subject of slavery have been hitherto proclaimed. His letter is a most pungent one, and was doubtless intended to kill or to cure; and we cannot say which effect is most likely to follow from its publication. The few thousand Abolitionists in this State, who have for years followed the counsels of Mr. SMITH, gladly sharing with him the odium of his opinions, receiving the ridicule of the multitude, the reproach of being fanatics and fools, cannot feel entirely satisfied by this 'order' from their leader to disband and give place to better men. We say now, as we said last week, we do not favor the giving up the Celebration; and yet, as no call has been issued for holding it, we suppose it will be given up. Its death will be ascribed to the letter of Mr. SMITH.

The abandonment of the Jerry Celebration will, we apprehend, be among the least of the bad effects of Mr. SMITH's communication to JOHN THOMAS. The peculiar reasoning adopted in that letter is just as good against any other public abolition effort on the part of the

friends of emancipation, as against the Jerry Rescue meeting. If the facts alleged against them render the celebrationists unfit to celebrate that glorious act of humanity and justice, they unfit them to address the public mind and heart on any other platform in behalf of the slave's freedom. The emphatic and special charge against the Jerry Rescuers, the thing which especially and peculiarly unfits them in the judgment of Mr. SMITH to celebrate the rescue of Jerry, is, that they have 'voted for men who acknowledge a law for slavery.' This is their 'shameless and pernicious hypocrisy.' This is why they should 'stand aside.' Now, with all deference to our honored friend, we must beg to be excused from continuing the play upon this set form of words. There is but little progress made in discovering the path of truth and duty by ambiguous and deceptive phrases. We are the more disposed to have done with such ambiguities, because we find in this very letter, brim full of denunciations of those voting for men acknowledging a law for slavery, sufficient evidence that Mr. SMITH, for whom we voted for Governor of this State last Fall, does himself acknowledge a law for slavery.—For what is it but to acknowledge a law for slavery, when he reproaches the North—as he does reproach the North—for not purchasing the slaves of their masters. If slavery is an 'unmitigated piracy,' upon what principle of ethics does Mr. SMITH associate with the pirates as gentlemen, and reproach us for not purchasing their plunder? It is very evident from this, as well as other facts, that there are different senses in which a man may acknowledge a law for slavery—some innocent and some criminal. In one sense of the word there can be plainly no law for slavery; but this depends entirely upon the definition given to the term 'law.' If by law is simply meant *by right* or *by justice*, or *by reason*, there can, of course, be no law for slavery; for slavery is the positive, direct and irreconcilable antagonism of right, justice and reason. But Mr. SMITH knows, and every other man knows, that laws have existed, do exist, and probably will continue for some time to exist, in shameful defiance of justice, righteousness and reason. The law of superior physical force is recognized everywhere as a certain kind of law. In the Southern States of the Union, this law of superior force has expressed itself in statutes, and for the time being governs the relation of master and slave. To acknowledge this fact as a fact, is no more an immoral concession than to acknowledge that Polygamy exists in Utah, or that Britain is a monarchy, or that Russia is a despotism.—To torture such an acknowledgment into crime, is trifling with the understanding, and confusing the moral sense. The Jerry Rescuers must do more than vote for men who acknowledge this fact to merit the stigma of being hypocrites and traitors to the cause of liberty. But this refers merely to acknowledging law for slavery as a fact. Our acknowledg-

ment of it goes only to that extent. We acknowledge the fact, but deny the justice of the law. Not even the validity of the law, as binding on conscience, is necessarily included in this admission. For our part, we know of no Jerry Rescuer who by word or vote has acknowledged that there could be laws for slavery in the sense that such law can be either just or reasonable. Not even the Republican party, to our knowledge, has anywhere declared that there can be any law for slavery in the foul and guilty sense that slavery is morally right. How utterly useless, then, is it—nay, how bewildering and mischievous is it to use a phrase as containing the absolute rule of political action, which is as false in one sense as it is true in another. While common sense retains any hold upon the human mind, and human beings continue to make laws, it will continue to be seen that there can be bad laws as well as good laws. The falsehood in the case will ever be this: recognizing the bad law as good and binding, and the good laws as having no authority.

What is the use of saying that there can be no law for slavery, when in the next breath, in order to be understood correctly, we have to admit that there can be law for slavery? In the letter before us, in order to be understood at all, Mr. SMITH has to place 'obligatory' and 'valid,' and other like terms, before the word *law*, showing that while he says there can be no law for slavery, he only means after all that there can be no righteous law for slavery, an opinion in which there is not a leading Republican in the State, with whom we have conversed, refuses to concur.

REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER BEFORE THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.—This very influential and popular religious body has just held its fifteenth anniversary in Philadelphia. Like all the rest of our popular religious bodies, it has been silent, time serving and compromising on the subject of slavery. Apparently devoutly in earnest for the religious enlightenment and salvation of the heathens in foreign lands, and raising hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to forward that great work, they have never raised one cent for the enlightenment and salvation of the black millions in a state of forced heathenism in our own country.—Slaveholders and slave traders find no difficulty in accepting the religion of this venerable Board, and find ready admission into its mission churches. Dr. CHEEVER has once more borne his testimony against the course of his brother Christians, and the subject sleeps for another year. 'So they wrap it up.' 'And yet they seek me daily, as a nation that did righteously.' Read the searching testimony of Mr. CHEEVER, and thank God, with us, that one man dares to stand up for the despised and down trodden in the land, in the presence of all the pomp, and show, and emptiness of American religion.

THE IRISH DEPUTATION TO AMERICA!

The United States are just now being honored by the presence of three distinguished clergymen from the Emerald Isle. They are Revs. Doctors DILL, EDGER, and WILSON.—The object these gentlemen have in view, in visiting the United States at this time, is, as we are informed by their speeches and by the press, to procure 'material aid,' as well as sympathy and co-operation in a special and protracted effort to evangelize their beloved country. The work of evangelization has, we are told, already begun, and the prayers, sympathy, and money of evangelical Christians of America are needed to carry on the work.—These gentlemen are eloquent and powerful speakers. They paint the religious destitution of their countrymen in colors distinct and striking. The evils of Romanism, with its ignorance, and cunning, and crimes, are portrayed with fervid eloquence. The fire of the love of souls seems to burn on the altar of their hearts, and they appear to be nobly bent on serving God and blessing Ireland, and through Ireland the whole world. They have appeared at several meetings in New York and Philadelphia. They are everywhere cordially received by the very cream of the American clergy, and are listened to with profound attention by our religious communities. They will doubtless make a deep sensation in favor of the object of their mission—call forth many prayers for the evangelization of Ireland—make many friends among the wealthy members of all our evangelical denominations—and carry home with them many pleasant memories, and some money.

That Ireland is under the domination of a most crushing religious system, is most true; that the work of her deliverance from Romish superstitions and priestcraft is a good work, none will deny, who have seen, as we have, the terrible and shocking evils, the poverty, ignorance, misery, and sin, that fester and flourish under their auspices. Let no hand be lifted, and no word be spoken, which might in any wise hinder a moral and religious revolution in the affairs of Ireland! They are needed—and blessed be the man who shall give to that suffering people a true and rational religious freedom!

Nevertheless, we are free to declare that the deputation has made a most lamentable mistake in coming to the evangelical Christians of America for help in this work. This is very evidently and flagrantly not the country to obtain any sincere and honest co-operation in the freedom of Ireland from the power of Rome. How can Satan cast out Satan? Will men serve God when the Devil bid them?—Are superstition and oppression the true antidotes for superstition and oppression? Is a kingdom divided against itself? No, the evangelical Christians of America have been weighed in the balance and found wanting.—They have no genuine sympathy for Ireland, and no genuine hatred of priestcraft or detestation of oppression. One terrible fact writes as with the vividness of the forked lightning, the condemnation of the evangelical Christian churches of America, and that fact is, those churches are at profound peace with that mountain iniquity in our land, which makes merchandize of four millions of men, women and children, and which is at this moment, with shameless rapacity, opening the slave trade, which the Christianity of a by-gone age

had abolished, to add other wretched victims to the overwhelming multitudes already in chains! How can those who behold four millions of men in bondage, (denied the commonest comforts of life, deprived of schooling, kept in ignorance by design, the better to enslave them, forbid to learn to read the name of God, bought and sold like beasts in the market, herded together like cattle, deprived of valid marriage, robbed of their hard earnings, beaten with whips, maimed with irons, and by bloodhounds torn to pieces when any of them run away from their evangelical masters)—we say, how can any of those who behold these millions, thus crushed, wounded, and bleeding in our own land, have any genuine sympathy with the poor and the perishing people of Ireland? They can have none. If they despise and neglect the enslaved and suffering negro whom they have seen, they cannot love the poor and perishing Irishman whom they have not seen.

It is much to be regretted that, knowing, as this deputation must know, the deep complicity of the American evangelical churches with slavery, that it stretches out its hands to such churches for help, to deliver Ireland from the slavery of Romanism. Of course, coming from a country (whatever may be its other faults) whose soil has ever been uncursed by the presence of a single African slave, or a single African *slave-trader*, the deputation must be supposed to be, with their country and religion against slavery—and hold it to be a deadly sin. Their coming here, to consort with, and solicit help from those inculcated with slavery is the more amazing and pernicious. We have read everything we could find with respect to their doings, sayings, and surroundings here, and all that we have seen convinces us that this evangelical deputation affords no ground for rejoicing among the millions in bondage. Thus far nothing has fallen from their lips more consoling to the friends of the American bondman than might have fallen from the lips of the furious renegade JOHN MITCHELL. They ask the prayers of evangelical Americans for poor Ireland, and think the work already begun there, which has astonished the world, is in answer to the prayers of American evangelical Christians.—Dr. DILL, who is not noted for fanaticism, attributes the great Irish revival, to the prayers made in *Fulton street, New York*.

'The Rev. Mr. DILL of Ireland, was introduced. He said that the present meeting was a great one, but in Ireland the meetings were larger—there they had monster prayer-meetings. The drunkard was reformed, and men who never prayed before, were now reading, praying, and learning diligently and daily, the things of God. The poor degraded woman who had fallen from virtue, could now be seen, like Mary of old, sitting at the feet of Jesus. He assured them it was a reality, and he urged the Fulton-street meeting to pray on, for he attributed the great Irish revival to their prayers. Let them pray on, until not only the north, but the south and west of Ireland should be given to Christ, and that the island of his love should be indeed an "Island of Saints."'

It must have been very gratifying to the Fulton street prayer meeting, to have such an assurance of the immense power of its prayers. Such a testimony does not come every day even to the most devout. Of course the Doctor has looked fully into the causes of the great IRISH REVIVAL, and must be supposed to know whereof he affirms. He cannot be seeking to blarney his American brethren. That would too little become the dignity of a grave Doctor of Divinity. But is it so? Has this

Fulton st. meeting the praying power which Dr. DILL ascribes to it? May he not be mistaken? If it had any such power—a power to set in motion the ponderous machinery by which *forty* thousand souls could be convened at one meeting in Belfast, and tens of thousands struck with conviction in other parts of Ireland, and led to seek the forgiveness of sins—why, we must hunt out this Fulton st. prayer meeting, and see if its services cannot be procured in a good work a little nearer home than Ireland. There are a good many things we want done forthwith. We want first of all the American Bible Society to give Bibles to four million native Americans, and provide fifty thousand more in Congo and Mandingo for the crop soon to be landed on our evangelical Christian shores from the west coast of Africa. Next we want the American Tract Society converted from being a huge engine for blotting out every religious sentiment against slavery, which it finds in the books it publishes from time to time. We next want them to take the whole evangelical clergy to the throne of Grace, and make them honest and open mouthed haters of slavery and oppression, instead of being, as they are, the guilty apologists of the slave system, or dumb on the whole subject. Now, if this Fulton street prayer meeting has such immense power and influence with the Ruler of all hearts, we do most urgently entreat it to undertake for the poor plundered victims of American bondage. We do not ask that it should cease to pray for Ireland, but we do ask that the negro in his chains shall not be forgotten. But alas! we have no hopes of getting that prayer meeting, that Fulton street prayer meeting on our side. It would much rather deliver Ireland from Roman bondage, than the slave from Southern slavery. Upon the whole, for the slave's sake, we regret the mission of these eminent ministers. Good, indeed, they might do, if they would open their mouths for the dumb millions of this land—if they would tear off the mask of hypocrisy from that piety which can be deeply penetrated by the moral and religious destitution of Irishmen abroad, while showing no concern for the moral, intellectual and religious destitution of countless black men at its very church doors, they would do a good work and prove that common honesty is not always divorced from religion. But this is perhaps too much to expect. At any rate, nothing has thus far escaped their lips, which looks like such stern fidelity. They are lavish in their praises of our churches, and are only surrounded by that class of American divines as have never manifested the least anti-slavery feeling. Such men as Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, and Rev. GEO. B. CHEEVER, both representatives of what little religious anti-slavery feeling there is, among the evangelical churches of the country, are not seen, or at least not represented at the meetings of the Irish evangelists. This is significant.—Then there is harm done in the very act of coming here for such a purpose. It implies that the American evangelical churches are peculiarly fit to engage in such a work as that to which they are invited. It comes to swell the already overgrown pride of those churches—to conceal the "bruises, wounds and putrifying sores" that make such churches and their slaveholding religion an offense to all honest beholders. It is a new recognition and endorsement of American religion, and will do much, we fear, to blunt the occasional rebukes which come to us from abroad, concerning the merciless indifference of our churches to the wrongs of the American slave.

LUCY STONE AND SENATOR DOUGLAS.

WASHINGTON, July 14, 1859.

Mrs. Lucy Stone—Dear Madam: Your kind letter of the 8th inst. wishing me to be present at a Convention of the ladies of the North-West, to be convened at Chicago on the 12th of September next, to devise measures for the promotion of the happiness and protection of the interests and rights of the female sex, has just been laid before me. You are right, dear Madam, when you say that I take a deep interest in all that concerns the ladies of our great and glorious country. And I need not now, after so many years of faithful labor in the cause of Popular Sovereignty, assure you that you have, in your endeavors to obtain the liberty of governing yourselves in your own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, the full confidence of my undivided sympathy. I regret, dear Madam, that business of great importance will prevent me from being present at your Convention.

I have the honor to remain, &c.,

S. A. DOUGLAS.

Mrs. LUCY STONE has too frequently compromised her anti-slavery principles by a feverish desire for prominence and popularity, to surprise us by any sudden extravagance which she may perpetrate in the pursuit of the bubble of fame. By this letter of Senator DOUGLAS, which Mrs. STONE doubtless caused to be published, the public is made acquainted with the fact that Mrs. LUCY STONE did go the length of especially inviting Senator DOUGLAS to be present at the recent Woman's Rights Convention, held in Chicago. This Convention, be it remembered, was professedly held for the purpose of devising measures for the protection of the rights and the interests of woman. The object, it will be seen, was highly philanthropic and good, one which should be sought only by defensible and creditable means. In inviting Mr. DOUGLAS, (of course it was a mark of respect, as well as a stroke of policy,) Mrs. STONE in our judgment pursued a course altogether reprehensible. We have heard of nearly all sorts of toadyism—religious toadyism, political toadyism, social toadyism—but here we have a specimen of philanthropic toadyism, about as little entitled to respect as the most contemptible of all the great family of toadyisms. Until now it has been customary to extend special invitations for such distinguished occasions, to men known and distinguished for their hearty and unequivocal sympathy for the cause to be supported by such conventions, on the principle that birds of a feather should flock together. But Mrs. STONE and her associates—if she had any—sets at defiance this very natural principle of association, by inviting a man to her Woman's Rights platform who, during his whole career, political and social, notwithstanding his high sounding phrases about equal rights and popular sovereignty, has chiefly distinguished himself for his utter disregard of such rights, and for his subtle schemes to undermine and overthrow them.—Who, but Mrs. LUCY STONE could have ever dreamed of honoring with an invitation to the Woman's Rights platform a man already notorious for holding women in bondage, and for defending the sovereign mob in any of our territories to buy and sell women on the auction block? Who, but Mrs. LUCY STONE could have suspected Mr. DOUGLAS of any sympathy with any rights, except the right to enslave and imbrute men, women and children? A cause may be damaged in two ways, and it becomes the Reformer to look out sharply for the tendency to either. One is by evincing too little respect for the opinions of those who happen to differ from us, and

the other is too little respect for those who agree with us. There is no better way in the world to bring a cause into contempt, than by manifesting an undue solicitude for the support and countenance of the simple weather-gages of popularity. It is notable that, during the past summer, a 'dead set' has been made upon the pleasure seekers to all our watering places, as if pleasure seekers and politicians were the best possible material out of which to make Woman's Rights Reformers. But in making a dash at DOUGLAS, Mrs. STONE has thrown all the watering places into the shade. The Little Giant would have been a greater acquisition than a whole car load of pleasure seekers at Saratoga. But that sturdy fish was not to be caught, even by so dainty a bait flung by the gentle hand of Mrs. STONE.

We hear much about the wrongs of married women, the wrongs of single women, and about the inadequate wages paid to women, and the deficient representation of woman in public life—about the wrongs perpetrated against her in excluding her from the pursuit of the most lucrative branches of trade; we admit it all, and lament it all, and yet we may ask: what are all those wrongs, how trifling, how as the small dust of the balance when compared with the stupendous and ghastly wrongs perpetrated upon the defenseless slave woman? Other women suffer certain wrongs, but the wrongs peculiar to woman out of slavery, great and terrible as they are, are endured as well by the slave woman, who has also to bear the ten thousand wrongs of slavery in addition to those common wrongs of woman. It is hard to be underpaid for labor faithfully performed; it is harder still not to be paid for labor at all. It is hard that woman should be limited in her opportunities for education; it is harder still to be deprived of all means of education. It is hard for the widow only to receive the third part of the property of her deceased husband; it is harder still to be a chattel personal to all intents and purposes.—It is hard only to enjoy a qualified right to one's children; but it is harder still for a woman to have no rights which white men are bound to respect.

One would think that the first business of American women, who after all are highly favored above their sisters in many other countries, would be to make war upon the numberless outrages against the dignity of woman in the condition of a slave, and that they would instinctively perceive and shudder at anything in the slightest degree tending to uphold or connive at the slave system. Yet we see Mrs. LUCY STONE, the apostle of Woman's Rights, flinging the network of her notes of invitation about the neck of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, as notorious for his contempt for Woman's Rights as BRIGHAM YOUNG is for the number of his wives! Our country abounds in startling contradictions. They are entirely too much the order of the day to excite any decided feeling. Everywhere there is a great ado made over small things, things comparatively harmless, while great and terrible crimes on the part of influential men and influential ladies are winked at in silence or plated with popular praise. It would not be very marvelous if the dainty slaveholding ladies of the South, seeing that their brother STEPHEN has been invited to co operate with Mrs. LUCY STONE, would take the hint and form Woman's Rights societies to redress their injuries, with

a special provision in their constitution, however, that each member should enjoy the sovereign right to decide whether she should enslave her black sisters. This would be popular sovereignty of the DOUGLAS order, and seems to be quite approved in him by Mrs. LUCY STONE. But who is LUCY STONE, the lady who thus seeks the co-operation of the incorrigible slaveholder, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS? She is a lady mainly indebted for her present eminence to the anti-slavery cause, and to the advocates of that cause. She of all others should be keenly sensitive to the demands of the anti slavery principle, and should have been as ready to send for the devil himself to attend her Woman's Rights Convention as to send for DOUGLAS. Yet, after all, as we said at the beginning, we are not surprised at LUCY. She, who could betray her black brothers and sisters in Philadelphia to the foul spirit of prejudice and caste she who could lecture in St. Louis in favor of Women's Rights, without mentioning the rights of slave women, could hardly be expected to remember the contempt she was heaping on the anti-slavery cause by honoring that prince of negro haters to a seat in her Woman's Rights Convention. Mr. DOUGLAS, in declining the invitation, seems to have judged better than Mrs. LUCY STONE of his fitness for the position to which she had invited him. He evidently saw the awkwardness of appearing on a platform with such rude men as WENDELL PHILLIPS, T. W. HIGGINSON, and others, whose notions of human rights are not influenced or limited to any distinctions in the forms or colors of mankind.

—Henry Mitchell, a colored man, is in trouble in Boston for forging a note of \$1,062 on Gerard Halleck, Esq., of the New York Journal of Commerce. The note bears date 1856, and was given by Mitchell to his landlord as collateral for house rent. He is held for trial in \$1000 bail.

How like white men, and the worst types of them, are the negroes beginning to behave! Here is this rascal, this black rascal, MITCHELL, aping the Saxon in one of his most 'gentlemanly' crimes. Hitherto, we believe, negroes have been content to copy the white man's example in respect to petty and vulgar offenses, but this step of MITCHELL carries the negro a button hole higher. Where did the fellow learn how to write? There are many who believe that the Editor of this paper is unable to write, and that no negro can. This forgery of MITCHELL is exactly to the point, and will do much to convince the whole country that the negro may be taught to read and write. Slaveholders may see in this unusual circumstance a further argument against allowing their slaves to learn to read; but the people will see in it that negroes are very much like other people, at least that they are so in their vices if not in their virtues. We shall be pardoned for thus extracting a morsel of good out of this flagrant piece of evil.—We even yet fear that some white man was at HENRY's elbow nerving him up to the felony, or still more probable that the real forgery was by some white man, and the negro was used only as a tool. But for the present we must let HENRY have all the credit naturally belonging to his high crime.

—The Charleston Mercury says that the object of John Mitchel in going to France is to get Napoleon III. to 'relax his opposition to the slave-trade under the French flag, if not to legalize it.'

'IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.'

When Mr. SEWARD said in his Rochester speech, a year ago, that there is an irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery, he touched the very poetry of truth, the essence of the great question which divides parties and rocks the land. It was not a new expression of truth to Abolitionists, and would not have been new even had it come a dozen years sooner. They understood the fact and its causes long ago, and had proclaimed it on highways and byways, and in country school houses. In some such ways as this, even our great Senator may have been put upon the track of it. He did not claim that the idea was original. He merely uttered the conviction which he found existing about him, and gave it form, consistency and grace, partly because he is an acknowledged statesman, and partly because of his polished rhetoric.—It went out over the land at a time when the New York *Tribune* was courting DOUGLAS, and bringing the Republican party steadily down to the narrow margin of Anti-Lecompton. The *irrepressible* note startled all Anti-Lecompton millennial dreamers, and reminded the friends of freedom that there is really nothing done while there is anything to be done. Never were a few words spoken so far to the west of the Atlantic so electrical.—Friends and foes throughout the Union started at the sound. The timid on both sides were alarmed, and the strong on both sides were made stronger. Slaveholders regarded it as England regards any addition to the French navy, just as a signal to prepare for war, and Abolitionists could not be other than glad to see one of their doctrines at such an eminence, while those who had entered the Republican ranks from merely selfish motives, thought that Mr. SEWARD had been a little too explicit, and had materially damaged himself and damaged his party. This weak-backed species gave aid and comfort to the enemy, who did not fail to take advantage of this mischievous weakness.

Knowing that many Republicans felt alarmed by Mr. SEWARD's very comprehensive doctrines in that Rochester speech, the slaveholding Democratic party in this State and throughout the Union, recognizing in Mr. SEWARD the most dangerous foe to the interests of slavery among the leaders of the Republican party, are doing what they can to frighten the Republican party into bringing forward some other candidate for the Presidency. So at least we read in the speeches of DAVIS, TOOMBS, STEPHENS, and others at the South, and so we read in the speeches made last week at the capital of New York by Messrs. JOHN A. DIX and DANIEL S. DICKINSON. They are evidently intended to weaken their strongest political opponent. They know well enough that around no man in the Republican ranks can there centre, in case of his nomination, an influence so *irrepressible* as around WM. H. SEWARD. His name kindles an enthusiasm, and awakens confidence among all who have the interests of freedom earnestly at heart, and none know this fact better than his wily opponents. Could they succeed in intimidating the Republican party, and driving it from its true standard bearer, it would be a decisive and crushing victory, and would leave the Republican party a stranded bark. Knowing this, as the Democrats do, and seeing that their only chance is

to kill off Mr. SEWARD, they make him and his doctrines the special objects of attack.—No other name, not even the old Liberty Party man, Gov. CHASE, comes in for a share of their maledictions. All of which is quite significant and instructive. It points out with certainty the man, and the only man of whom Republicans should think of making President of the United States.

But to return: The doctrine of *irrepressible* conflict between slavery and freedom is what we want to see boldly advanced—not defended, excused or explained, but *advanced* and *pressed*—for it is true, deduced from the moral chemistry of the universe, and will stand when the pillars of heaven are shaken. Not only are slavery and freedom in themselves inherently opposite, and eternally antagonistic, but the interests that cluster around them, so far as they are native and genuine, are necessarily repellant forces. It is as natural for slaveholders to war upon the interests of free labor, as it is for wolves to eat sheep, or thieves to hide when hunted by officers of justice. Free labor, except in the cities of the South, where slavery is overawed by numbers, is dwarfed, stupefied and debased. The *poor white trash* stand but a single step above the *slave*, and even the latter finds time to laugh at the leanness of his miserable white brother, who is a slave, and don't know that he is such.

But not only is this *irrepressible* conflict in regard to labor. Slavery, a stupendous system of selfishness, breeds covetousness—a flagrant crime against God, it has no restraint from crime against man. Let this view of the slave system be held up before the country in colors of living light by the Republican journals and speakers of the country, and the party may have a leader worthy of success, and really likely to be successful.

THE JERRY RESCUE CELEBRATION.

We had hoped to have been able to have laid before our readers, in our present number, the resolutions and address, with other proceedings, of this highly interesting occasion, but by some unexplained delay, we have not been put in possession of them. The Celebration was in every way a successful demonstration. The audience was large, and the addresses made able and spirited. The presence of Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, now absent in Europe, was sadly missed, for to him, in other years, this annual anti-slavery meeting owed much of its life and power, as indeed all anti-slavery meetings in the city of Syracuse, since he has resided there. The very atmosphere was ever better for his presence. The benignant countenance, and eloquent voice of Hon. GERRIT SMITH was also wanted to cheer and strengthen us in our efforts to educate the people up to the JERRY level; but even with these heavy drawbacks, the meeting was held, and the occasion was an interesting, and we hope a very profitable one to all assembled, as well as to some who will only read its proceedings. The resolutions and the address were high toned and uncompromising, fully endorsing the rescue of JERRY from his brutal and piratical kidnappers, and vindicating the principle and the policy upon which the deed was done. The papers were drawn up by JOHN THOMAS, Esq., an able and zealous anti-slavery writer, who living in Syracuse at the time of the famous rescue, was thoroughly ac-

quainted with the *fact*, and entirely sympathized with the spirit of rebellion against the impudent spirit of slavery (which sought under the reign of FILLMORE and WEBSTER, to make its authority over its victim as supreme in the State of New York as in the State of Virginia, where its power is complete and unquestioned) in which it originated. The principal speakers who addressed the meeting were Rev. Mr. STRIEBY, Rev. A. L. PRYNE, Rev. J. W. LOGUEN, GEORGE W. PUTNAM, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, and the Wesleyan Methodist minister, whose name has passed from us.

The recent letter of GERRIT SMITH, recommending the discontinuance of the celebration, was freely commented on, and regretted by the several speakers. All felt that however dark the hour, or gloomy the prospect, this was no time to fling away even the meanest anti-slavery instrumentality, or to abandon a single post of anti-slavery duty. While the slave is still in his chains, bleeding and dying under the iron heels of a wicked government and a hypocritical church, there was no better work at which men could live or die, than in exposing and denouncing both before all the people. Granting that the love of many has waxed cold—granting that some have faltered, and others have turned back, gone into their pro-slavery parties and churches—the same has been true of every other good cause in the past, and is likely to be so in respect to every other that shall come after. All the more on this account should they, who, like our friend at Peterboro, have kept a clean record, not only be the last to desert, but not even seem to desert. Men are but men, and withal erring men. But just such as they are, is the kind of men we have to do with. Woe betide this sin-cursed world, whether that sin be the making merchandize of the image of God, or some other abomination, when good men shall give up the moral struggle against it, and hand the world over to fiery judgments. If He who built this great universe, founded its laws and sustains in mercy this world as it is, with all its disobedience and sin, allowing His great spirit still to strive with men, can afford to bear with our misdoings, we ought not to be less patient and less willing to bear with and work for the repentance and salvation of the world. Sentiments like these were suggested, not by any want of numbers or enthusiasm on the part of those assembled. Far from it. We have seldom attended a meeting which needed less to be told of the duty of enduring like good soldiers to the end of the war.

The speech of Rev. Mr. STRIEBY, Congregational minister of Syracuse, was a new and welcome contribution to the cause. He spoke with genuine eloquence and power. He stood there, he said, on a free platform, responsible for the views and opinions of no man who had preceded him, or might come after him. He represented at least one anti-slavery church and pulpit. With brief introduction he gave us a speech rich in thought, earnest in tone, hopeful in spirit, comprehensive in scope, clear and convincing in its reasoning, and left us feeling that no declensions, no drawbacks, no hinderance which might beset us in our efforts to save our country and the slave, should tempt us back to the regions of despair. As usual, we had an able and eloquent speech from our old and tried friend, A. L.

PRYNE, the man who put an end to PARSON BROWNLOW's missionary tour to the North. Mr. PRYNE, acquitted himself gloriously, and his speech was worth the journey to Syracuse; less hopeful, but not less determined to go on 'pouring in unwilling ears the truth oppression only fears,' than was Mr. STRIBBY. Many blessed old faces met us here this year as formerly. It was good to see them, and to be once again with them to bear our testimony against slavery and all its aiders and abettors. A committee was appointed, as usual, to call the next first of October meeting.

THE BALLOT AND THE BULLET.

'He has preached both the ballot and the bullet as the means by which slavery is to be destroyed, and men have refused to employ either the one or the other, and the preacher has become discouraged. Let him discard both the ballot and the bullet, and as the best agent for the enfranchisement of man wield the sword of the spirit which divides Truth from Error, which separates between the Right and the Wrong. Then, when the weapon falls from his hand in death, he will be able to say with a cheerful tone and exulting heart, "By this have I conquered."'

The advice given above is addressed to our friend GERRIT SMITH, by the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, an organ of the non-voting theory. It sounds to us very much like nonsense, but may strike others differently. If the anti-slavery cause has failed, the ballot and the bullet are as little to blame for it as is the so-called 'sword of the spirit,' which simply means, in the columns of the *Bugle*, telling men to do that which Garrisonians will not do themselves. They tell the Government to pass laws for the abolition of slavery; but will not themselves vote for such a law. They tell their State Legislatures to pass Personal Liberty Bills, but will not themselves vote for such men as will pass such bills. They denounce pro-slavery voting, but will not themselves cast an anti-slavery vote. Their cry is 'no union with slaveholders,' and yet they equally, with others, help to support the Government and consume the produce of the slave. Their money goes equally with others into the national treasury, and into the pockets of slave-drivers. While they 'discard' both the ballot and the bullet, they seem to give no better proof of vitality and power than those who discard neither. Far be it from us to undervalue the power of truth when honestly addressed to the hearts and consciences of men; but truth to be efficient must be uttered in action as well as in speech.

If speech alone could have abolished slavery, the work would have been done long ago. What we want is an anti-slavery Government, in harmony with our anti-slavery speech, one which will give effect to our words, and translate them into acts. For this, the ballot is needed, and if this will not be heard and heeded, then the bullet. We have had cant enough, and are sick of it. When anti-slavery laws are wanted, anti-slavery men should vote for them; and when a slave is to be snatched from the hand of a kidnapper, physical force is needed, and he who gives it proves himself a more useful anti-slavery man than he who refuses to give it, and contents himself by talking of a 'sword of the spirit.'

—About a month ago, a cargo of slaves was landed at Trinidad de Cuba. One of the inspectors, a young Creole, informed the Government of the fact, and that night he was assassinated in his bed.

DEMOCRATIC SLAVERY PLATFORM.

Resolved, That we approve and reiterate the principles laid down in the Cincinnati platform as the true creed of the Democratic party, and that we deny the right of any power, except the Democracy of the nation in convention assembled, to add to or abridge this creed of the party. This creed, so far as regards the question of slavery in the Territories, leaves such questions as belong to the Courts to the construction of the Judiciary, and to Congress on that subject no power, the Democracy regarding the interference of that body to exclude the South from participation in the Territories and the proposition for a Congressional Slave Code as equally repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution, and uncalled for by any consideration of public expediency.

The foregoing resolution, adopted by the Democratic Convention in Syracuse, is shrewdly drawn, and is characteristic of the slavery Democracy. It affirms two things in regard to slavery in the Territories: non-interference by Congress to exclude slavery from the Territories; and secondly, the right of the Courts to construe, as they have construed, slavery to have a constitutional existence in all the Territories. It is notable that the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, with its right of the people to determine for themselves whether they will or will not have slavery, is not expressed in terms in the series of resolutions adopted at that Convention, and doubtless for the plain reason that the Democratic party of this State has taken its stand on the doctrines of the Dred Scott decision. It is true that that is done constructively, rather than explicitly; but in this the craftiness of the politician is seen rather than any virtuous hesitation of the party to commit itself to that masterpiece of judicial villainy. The following and concluding resolution of the series adopted by the Convention, indicates both the PRINCIPLE and the MAN, against which the Democratic party in the approaching Presidential struggle, expect to rally the citizens of the State of New York. There is not the slightest reason for the Republicans of this State to decline the issue, either upon the principle or the man, though we fear that, as in other days, Mr. SEWARD has placed himself too far in advance of his party to receive their united support.

Resolved, That the fatal and treasonable declaration of Wm. H. Seward, that there exists between the sections of this Union 'an irrepressible conflict,' which can only terminate in the absolute domination of one, and the subjection of the other, by the suppression of its domestic institutions and its political and social degradation, is one of those revolutionary threats, aimed not only at the Constitution and the Union of these States, but at republican institutions everywhere, which should call together the patriotic masses of all the States in one common effort of resistance.

—The London (C. W.) Prototype says:—

'Many of our readers will recollect a colored female, lately a resident of this city, named Nancy Farrar, better known as Black Nancy. The unfortunate woman left London a short time since, for one of the Southern States, with a view to effect the liberation of her daughter from slavery. While there, we learn that she was pounced upon by some "bloodhounds," and unable to prove herself free, according to the laws of the land of liberty, she was held captive, and is now retained as a slave on one of the plantations. Poor Nancy!'

—A negro girl belonging to one Spicer of Ghent, Ky., painted herself white and otherwise disguised herself a few days since, and took passage on a ferry boat for Ohio. Before reaching the shore, her awkward actions led to a discovery, and the poor runaway was taken back to Kentucky.

THE BUSINESS OF SLAVE HUNTING IN ILL.

A party of slave hunters from Missouri recently killed a negro whom they had pursued, in Randolph county, Illinois. The *Sparta Herald*, says:

'We learn that an inquest has been held by Col. Jones, acting as coroner, on the body of the negro lately killed at Gravel Creek Bridge, and after rendering a verdict in accordance with the facts as stated in our columns last Friday, he issued writs for the arrest of parties engaged in the transaction. The writs are now in the hands of the Deputy Sheriff, but have not been served. Citizens jealous of the dignity of Illinois, may feel justly indignant at persons from Missouri entering our State, and without the form or shadow of legal authority, searching houses, and committing acts of indecency to our citizens, but when our citizens give themselves sufficiently over to canine instincts to voluntarily become hunting dogs for those same negro drivers, indignation is a feeble word.

'The case will in all probability figure pretty largely at Circuit Court. It will perhaps be seen how the people of Randolph will tolerate the commission of a wanton, barbarous murder.'

Another party of these hunters is at Chester, Illinois. The *Herald* of that place says:

'Such a party has been here for a week past, looking for a company of negroes, that have been, according to all ordinary calculations, in Chicago a week ago. Our valiant men did little to display their valor, except to search one house in which there was but a lone woman—the husband being away—and to present a pistol to a little boy, demanding where those negroes were. These mighty men of valor were equal to those who paid us a visit last spring. It may not be well for our friends to visit Sparta without the proper papers, when they are on such business, or else continue to use the same precautions used this time—insult only the defenseless.—Again we say, friends, be cautious.'

STOCK FOR THE FAIR AND NEGROES FOR THE SOUTH.—The steamer New War Eagle, arrived from Missouri river last evening, with another instalment of valuable stock for exhibition and competition at our approaching Fair, and another instalment of negroes for the South. The stock belongs to Major Adams of Clay county, Missouri, and consists of 'Peerless,' a race horse valued at fifteen thousand dollars, and which will compete for one of the thousand dollar premiums. Two bays comprise the balance of the stock, and they are owned by the same gentleman.

The negroes are about fifty in number and said to be in tip-top order and condition.—Some twenty-eight of them are the property of the aforementioned Major Adams. He proceeds South with the lot for the purpose of selling them. The Major jocularly remarks that Greeley, Seward, Dorris of Platte county, and himself, are rapidly making Missouri a free State.

We might mention, in connection with this fact, that about two hundred negroes have left this city within the past two weeks for the South. It is estimated that upwards of four hundred slaves leave the State weekly, and not ten slaves are brought into it. This draining must soon rid us of slavery.—*St. Louis Democrat*.

ANTHONY BURNS.—The excitement connected with this liberated slave is likely to be revived anew. He has been called to the pastorate of a colored church in Indianapolis, Ia., and some of the ultra-conservatives of that city threaten to enforce the law against the immigration of colored men into the State.—Any such attempt to enforce an odious law will be certain to recoil on those who resort to this method of gratifying their prejudices or malice.—*Watchman and Reflector*.

—Forty-five slaves were baptised at Richmond, Va., on a recent Sunday.

THE CHOICE WEAPON.

Religion is fast becoming the Devil's favorite weapon. He uses it on all great occasions, when no other weapon could serve him. In minor offenses against truth and goodness, he is content to refer to human weakness, and the influence of bad surroundings; but when some monstrous outrage against the just rights of man—such as slavery—is called in question, the Devil at once betakes himself to the Bible. Standing up in the name of MOSES and the prophets, and bulwarking himself by the throne of the God of Israel, he is almost safe from attack, and may hold his place in repose. With one well chosen text he can confound and overwhelm all evangelical Christendom.

No system of wrong ever more fully enjoyed this advantage than American slavery. The Bible has been ransacked for passages to sustain the relation of master and slave. Doctors of Divinity, North and South, both before and since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, have been busy in thus defending the foul and haggard curse of human bondage from the assaults made upon it in the name of reason and humanity. Would that their labors had been less successful! For the slave's sake, and the Bible's sake, this religious support given to slavery is a sad calamity. Not only is the slave blasted and ruined by it, but the recognized foundations of religion, order and justice are all damaged. How shall mercy go to the Bible for succor, when cruelty and robbery, and every nameable and unnameable villainy goes to the same Bible for protection, and finds there its amplest defense.

One of the most striking instances of the confidence and complacency with which slaveholders go to the Bible for the support of slavery, is furnished in the recent speech of Senator JEFFERSON DAVIS. He handles the name of God and the decrees of God with the freedom of an high priest of the altar. According to him, slavery and the slave-trade are alike of heavenly origin.

'As to him, it matters not whether Almighty power and wisdom stamped diversity on the races of men at the period of the creation, or decreed it after the subsidence of the flood. It is enough for us that the Creator, speaking through the inspired lips of Noah, declared the destiny of the three races of men. Around and about us is the remarkable fulfillment of the prophecy, the execution of the decree, and the justification of our literal construction of the text. The judgments of God are not as those of man. To the former all things are accommodated, and the fate of the subject is thereby his nature, but the victim of man's decree rebels and struggles against his condition.'

'Judgments of God are not as those of man,' piously remarks this imperturbable man-stealer, and makes good the saying that the Devil can quote Scripture. But how does Mr. DAVIS know which are the judgments of God and which are those of men? The rule he lays down is—a most excellent one. '*All things are accommodated*' to God's judgments. This accommodation, then, is the proof of the divineness of the decree. Whenever it is found easy and convenient to steal, according to this theory, then there is a divine right to steal, for such stealing is clearly a simple execution of God's judgment! The difference in the case of man's decrees, is that '*the victim rebels, and struggles*'—while to God's decrees, all is easy and accommodating! God grant that we may live to see this devilish argument taken out of the mouths of slaveholders! and we really believe we shall.

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

The pride of the American people, the thing which they most frequently cite as a proof of their superiority over other nations, is the high degree of civilization which they have attained—a civilization as rapid in its progress as it is peculiar in its features, and strikingly different from that of other countries. It may be truly called *American civilization*. If a stranger should look at some of our largest cities, the centres of commerce, business life, and industry of all description, and should be told, as he might be by persons very far from claiming the honor of being counted among 'the oldest inhabitants,' that they distinctly remember the time when the place so full of life and bustle was covered with the primeval forests, he could hardly credit the story, and would be inclined to think that they had been called into existence by the command of some magician; but upon looking deeper into the machinery and the network of this truly astonishing spectacle, he would perceive that America had availed herself of the unparalleled inventive development of the nineteenth century, doing the work in a day by two men which forty years ago would have required a week or a month to be performed by twenty men. By availing herself of the capital of other nations, she has surpassed all other nations in the rapid increase of her railroads.—With foreign capital, foreign skill, and the Irish laborer, she has been able to reduce to cultivation enormous tracts of land, to level the forest, to remove the rocks, to tunnel mountains, to span the broadest and deepest chasms, and overcome ten thousand other difficulties in rendering her borders accessible, each to all, and all to each. The contact into which men are brought by those means of communication, is one of the most powerful promoters of general and uniform culture; and in vain would one look here for those isolated, secluded places which a traveler will frequently meet with even in the middle of the most cultivated countries of Europe, where a small population is found entirely isolated, cut off from the rest of the world, speaking their own peculiar dialect, preserving their own manners, and perpetuating a style of dress of unknown origin, forming a little world by themselves, whose frontiers they hardly ever cross, and whose mental horizon does not reach farther than the extent of the acres they cultivate. Here, on the contrary, everywhere, in the middle of deserts, on nearly inaccessible mountains we hear our own language almost uncorruptedly spoken, and meet with people hardly different from ourselves in manners, notions and knowledge. Even foreigners soon show the influence of that general leveling civilization. The clumsy appearance, the awkward and queer behavior of the German and Irish peasant, are soon modified and made to give way to the force of American manners, and to take upon them an American appearance. The miserable clay huts, sometimes without chimney or windows, in which they may be found in their native countries, are supplanted by snug frame houses and shanties like those of the American farmer. But it is not only in respect to the material acquisitions that the Americans claim the front rank in civilization, for while they generously admit that in the fine arts they cannot yet compete with the old world, they do not forget to claim superior excellence over the

nations of Europe in respect to social and political institutions, as well as in almost all branches of knowledge and science. It is their pride that owing to the system of public schools, there are hardly any Americans found within the free States who do not know how to read and to write.

Now, it must be admitted that if civilization naturally tends to improve the material and intellectual as well as the moral state of a nation, it would seem as if the Americans really had excellent reasons for claiming, as they do, to be the first nation on the face of the earth. Unfortunately, however, for this claim, American civilization abounds in strange and puzzling contradictions. It is true we have unequalled means of communication, and may fly with almost the speed of an eagle from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, but it is also true that we do it at the peril of our lives. One of the first features which mark the distinction between a civilized, and a rude nation, is the value attached to human life, and the protection given it by the former, while the bold risking of it, the cold braving of death, is considered one of the chief virtues among savage tribes. Respect for human life, and vigilant protection of it, is a feature of civilization sadly absent in this country. In slow, conservative Europe, by railroad or by steamer, a journey is not thought much more of as being dangerous than a walk on a promenade. When in the course of several years an accident happens by which there is a loss of life, the whole country is seized with horror and consternation; while here their frequency is so great as to project one over another, and it is with difficulty in speaking of the last accident not to confound it with some other that has just occurred. The same insecurity is found concerning the protection of health. All sorts of quackery run with a loose rein here. In Europe, the government provides for the people in this respect by not allowing any physician to practice unless he has undergone the strictest examination; but such restraint would not agree with the principle of liberty peculiar to this Republic. Any quack, any runaway barber or apothecary's clerk may cure, kill or poison as he pleases. No apothecary here, as in *ROMEO* and *JULIET*, hesitates to sell poison. What was penal in this respect even before Shakspeare wrote, is now free and unrestricted.

This peculiarly American carelessness in the protection of life appears still more strikingly in the almost undisturbed freedom allowed to Rowdism. In fact, Rowdism is itself a plant of genuine American growth; for however wild, coarse and rude the mob may be in other countries, they do stand in fear of the law. Outbreaks of such brutality and ferocity as that witnessed lately in Baltimore, when a gang of those outcasts of humanity wantonly, and without the slightest provocation, attacked a whole party of unoffending and peaceful passengers of a steamer, would be nearly impossible any where in Europe. Even in poor, uncultivated Turkey, such a thing could not happen; and it may be doubted if such an outrage finds its equal in the darkest times of the Middle Age. Here, however, such outrages are by no means exceptions.—It is but a few months since a similar occurrence took place within sight of New York City, on Staten Island ferry, where an unof-

fending man was suddenly attacked and beaten by a group of rowdies, without any attempt being made by the bystanders or the officers of the boat to interfere or arrest the ruffians. It is not a year yet since a citizen of Baltimore was shot on the threshold of his house, and not two years since a colored man was shot for mere sport in New York. And now the papers are discussing an outrage perpetrated at Hartford on the reception of Gov. SEYMOUR, which is an exhibition of the superlative contempt for human life in America, even in the best parts of it. Here the perpetrator of the murder was not a rowdy by profession, but a genuine citizen, a member of the armed force for the maintenance of law and order; yet he deliberately kills a citizen to make way for the carriage of another fellow-citizen! Has the reign of King BOMBA an outrage more savage to boast of? But even this fades into nothingness compared with the numberless instances of lynch law, tarring and feathering, so characteristic of American civilization, and which are pointed to by the conservative classes in monarchical Europe as the natural and inevitable accompaniments of popular sovereignty.

The fact that such outrages and crimes are almost always committed by the outcasts of humanity, and are generally condemned and denounced by the higher and better classes of society, does not make them less chargeable to American civilization; for when we compare them with other enormities, the chief distinction is, that the one class is perpetrated in the name and under the sanction of law, and the other is not. And shocking and brutal as are the first, the latter are more pernicious in their consequences, since they corrupt by example the whole body of society. It was the wealth and respectability of our country which formerly mobbed the Abolitionist, which burned Pennsylvania Hall, which passed the Fugitive Slave Law, which gave us the Nebraska Bill, and which gave us the Dred Scott decision, dooming a whole race to insult, outrage and outlawry. Where else under the whole heavens can be found States solemnly passing laws compelling a part of their people to choose between enslavement or banishment? Where but in America can be found in the nineteenth century a church built up out of the proceeds of the sale of human flesh? Where but in America are men excluded from public halls, degraded in churches, insulted on the side-walk, proscribed in theatres, kicked out of omnibusses, dragged from the cars, hooted at in the street, denied admission to schools and colleges, for no better reason than that such persons differ in complexion from the majority?

All these facts certainly ought not to shake our faith in civilization, whose wholesome and ennobling effects are known by the examples of other countries; but certainly they do demonstrate that the American people have yet attained only the outside, the mere surface of civilization and refinement; that while boasting to be first, they are little more than last in the true elements of high civilization; that in fact every phase of it, aside from mere material improvement, is still in its infancy. Part of this defect may be properly ascribed to the astonishing rapidity of its growth. Everywhere else, civilization was the result of an internal process, slow in its progress, taking deep root, modifying, shaping and governing

life in all its ramifications. Here it came like a whirlwind, sweeping over the land unequally, leveling mountains, cutting down forests, covering all that it touches with an outside polish, without the power to penetrate under the surface. A sort of sham civilization, which resembles the savages of whom HUMBOLDT tells, who painted themselves coats, pants and vests on their bare skins, that they might appear in European style.

NON-EXTENSION VERSUS ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

Now that the battle and bloodshed in Kansas, which so long rivetted the attention of the public, has subsided, the pro-slavery border ruffians who went to the Territory with the settled purpose of establishing slavery there, either by force or by fraud, are now looking around for a new field on which to continue their iniquitous mission. A Kansas correspondent of the *Charleston Mercury*, says in a letter to that paper, 'that there are 2,700 Southern men in Kansas, and they intend emigrating South as soon as Kansas is admitted into the Union. They are connected with a Southern organization of about 17,000 men, and the theatre for action will be the Indian Territory south of Kansas, including the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaw nations.' In view of this statement, we may ask, are we to expect in that distant Territory a repetition of the fierce and bloody scenes enacted on the virgin prairies of Kansas? Must there be another terrible and prolonged struggle for freedom and independence, in a Republic already free? Or shall that beautiful territory be abandoned to the grasp of the slave power, which withers and blasts everything within its reach? What a story does the land of the slave States teach us. Like a fiery dragon, the slave system has swept over them, leaving them barren and worthless. The question is, shall this conflict be continued? Is it wise, is it economical for the friends of liberty to be marching and counter-marching, spending their money, and shedding their blood, merely to prevent the extension of slavery? In our judgment, it is not; and the time will come when the Republican party of the country will be brought to acknowledge that it is not. The time, the expense, the labor, and the hardships of settling and securing to freedom a single Territory, might be the means of abolishing the slave system in all the northern slave states. It is idle to talk about preventing the extension of slavery while we permit the existence of slavery. Had the scenes which occurred, and the battles fought taken place on any one of the old slave States, on the issue of freedom or slavery, we might even now be rejoicing in the abolition of the whole slave system. The non-extension of slavery is really a more perplexing and expensive measure than the abolition of slavery. The efforts to shut the slave power out of the Territories, one by one, will keep the country in a constant commotion with Border Ruffian outrages, assassinations, incendiaryisms, conspiracies, civil wars, and all manner of sickening horrors. The only true remedy for the extension of slavery, is the immediate abolition of slavery. For while the monster lives he will hunger and thirst, breathe, and expand. The true way is to put the knife into its quivering heart.

And for this work there must be Toussaints and Christophs among the negroes themselves; while the North shall not only say, 'hands off, but God help the slave!'

AFRICA RECOMMENDED IN BOSTON BY H. H. GARNET.

Our facetious brother GARNET has amused, but has not entirely convinced us. We did not need to read his speech in the *Anglo-African*, to learn that brother GARNET is a very clever man, or to learn that it is easier sometimes to answer *objectors*, than to answer their *objections*. We must confess, and this too after reading all that he has said with an amiable desire to agree with him, that we have quite failed to be convinced that Africa is any better field for the labor of colored Americans, than some parts of the United States in which that people now live. It may be prejudice or stupidity, or something worse, but the fact remains, and why not tell the truth; we do yet believe that intelligence, sobriety, industry, and perseverance will, if exercised, secure for us in this our native land, about as many of the good things of this world, both for the soul and for the body, as the same excellent elements will secure for us in the most highly favored parts of the west coast of Africa.—We shall the more readily be pardoned for this prejudice or preference, when it is remembered that its gratification does not involve a journey of five thousand miles, encountering the perils of the sea, unsettling all our plans for well doing, starting the world anew, running the hazards of acclimatization, overcoming the hardships incident to savage life, adding another admission of our natural incapacity to *be men among men*, and to struggle side by side with other races in the upward path of civilization. These things, if they do not excuse us, ought, we think, to soften and mitigate our punishment. Brother GARNET knows that even an old tooth is not easily extracted, and that men have in all ages 'rather bear those ills they have than fly to others they know not of.' Does brother GARNET know how terribly sarcastic he can be? His terse and nimble tongue, like a Maryland cow-skin, tears with every touch. We would remind our friend of the old saw, that it is well to have a giant's power, but not well to use that power like a giant.

But Mr. GARNET is not exactly just; he does not state our objection to begging fairly. The point we make against the African Civilization Society is not begging in the abstract, nor begging in the concrete, but begging for money to send the free colored people of these United States to Africa. We are perfectly willing of course, and it is ridiculous to pretend that we are not, that enterprising colored men, self-moved, and self-sustained should go either to Africa or Australia, or any where else, to promote their individual fortune. But it is quite a different thing when we are asked to join such men and assist them in their private enterprises. With his usual adroitness, Mr. GARNET in his speech at the Joy St. Church complimented Messrs. DUNBAR, TURPIN and others, who, to promote their own fortunes, have recently gone on a trading voyage to Africa; and with less fairness than fun, makes us appear as opposed to that and similar enterprises. Now the fact is, these gentlemen are emigrationists literally and precisely upon our plan, and upon the plan adopted by respectable people in all parts of the world. In praising those men, Mr. GARNET steals our thunder, for they go to Africa upon their own motion, with their own means, and to promote their own ends, neither asking endorsement as philanthropists nor alms as beggars.

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MY DEAR FRIEND :—The Summer, with all its varied charms and beauties, is over; no longer, in our country rambles, are we greeted by the sweet song of birds, or by wayside flowers. The butter-cup and daisy have 'faded and gone'; the humming of the wild bee is heard no more; the bright Mid-summer green of the trees has gradually changed to a darker shade; here and there leaves of russet hue are visible; the days are drawing rapidly in; every where we are reminded that the reign of Autumn—grand and sombre Autumn—has commenced, that another 'harvest is past,' 'another Summer is ended'—Who can look upon the scenery of Autumn without much exercise of thought, and without a sentiment of melancholy? I think it is Chateaubriand who says of Autumn: 'The leaves fall like our years, the flowers fade like our illusions, the light diminishes like our intelligence, the sun grows colder like our affections, the rivers become frozen like our lives—all bear secret relations to our destinies.' I do not entirely agree with him; but is there not some truth in what he says? Who that walks abroad at this season, listens to the moaning wind in the trees, watches the scattering foliage, and crinkles the russet leaves beneath his feet, as in quick succession they fall around him, fails to be reminded of his own inevitable destiny, for 'we all do fade as a leaf?' Each season, however, has its own peculiar charm, and 'mellow Autumn' has many. One advantage possessed by the town of Halifax is the immediate vicinity of the moors. A pleasant drive of twenty minutes, or a rather longer walk, brings you to the 'purple moors' of Skircoat, and to a ridge of grand rocks, on which you may sit musing 'o'er flood and fell,' and tracing the course of the Calder as it winds its way through the renowned and truly beautiful valley that bears its name. We have spent some pleasant days this summer on these moors. When the atmosphere is clear the panorama that presents itself is grand, and very extensive. The purple heather forms a charming resting place, and numbers of merry little children, clambering up and down the crags, in gleeful mirth, contribute to the picturesque aspect of the scene, as ever and anon some youthful face peers out amidst the underwood of native oak that clothes the clefts and crevices of sandstone. The winding Calder valley, stretching below, presents a busy scene; mills and manufactures are visible to the right and to the left; Copley Mills, the town of Bridge of Sowerby, show how art, wealth and industry have triumphed. Above all appear the purple ridges of the hills, some of them forming a branch of the grand ridge, popularly termed the Backbone of England, seem to defy the power of man to deface their grandeur, and meeting the horizon in the far distance. I can well imagine that, divested of the smoke and inelegancies of manufactories, this extensive chain of valleys, with the abrupt and picturesque heights that bound them, would well compare with some of the highland glens. We had a fine drive the other day to Luddenden Foot, a place romantically situated below the village termed Luddenden; Copley valley, Sowerby valley

were pointed out to me on our way; they and some other lovely valleys form collateral branches of the wide and extensive Calder valley. Even at Luddenden Foot we could not escape from the manufacturing regions.—It is here that the Ex-Mayor of Halifax (worthy Mr. Whitworth) has his extensive works, and it is here that he has recently erected a commodious and pretty chapel and school room for his work people. A brother of the Rev. Newman Hall has just been appointed pastor of this chapel; we had the gratification of listening to the Rev. gentleman, and of visiting the school, which is beautifully fitted up, and admirably presided over, so far as I was able to judge. Our forefathers would, indeed, look in amazement could they behold the innumerable 'canny' devices and schemes formed to facilitate the shooting of 'the young ideas' of the present generation. It did me good to see the neat line of desks, fitted up so nicely with ledges for the slates, pens and pencils of every child, and a little covered ink-stand for every two children—the latter so firmly fixed in the desk, that no mischievous boy could run away with it, or throw its contents at his unsuspecting neighbor. A good looking, rosy cheeked, pleasant looking set of boys and girls were assembled; we found them performing divers manipulations and brisk exercises; we left them seated at their desks, engaged in writing copies. These were the 'half time' children, half the day engaged in Mr. Whitworth's works, and half the day receiving excellent instruction. What vast responsibilities rest upon our wealthy and extensive manufacturers, and well do the leading men of Halifax meet them. The Messrs. Crossley, Mr. Akroyd and Mr. Whitworth are pattern men in this respect; and if we look a little way from Halifax, and think of Meltham Mills and its worthy proprietors, Messrs. Brook & Co., and of Salterre and Titus Salt, Esq., we shall come to the conclusion that wealth is in the right hands in this quarter, and that the West Riding of Yorkshire is peculiarly blessed with large-hearted, noble-minded, public-spirited, Christian men, who believe in doing all the good they can with the wealth committed to them.

Another day, recently, we visited the rich and beautiful Shibden valley, which, though commencing within a mile and a half of this busy town, seems 'far retired from noise and strife,' and to a lover of nature, wears a most enchanting aspect. While enjoying the soft tranquillity of this lovely retreat, I could not realize the fact that I was only two miles away from Halifax. Our town has the character of being a very cold one in winter; and it is not to be wondered at when we look up at the lofty broken outline of hills by which it is surrounded on all sides, and imagine the meeting of the wild, warring winds on the western moorlands, or in some of the many neighboring valleys. Much rain falls here, and we have a great deal of fog. I learn that Blackstone Edge and the mountains of Craven are deemed the most stormy districts in England. The former of these is very near to us.

A great acquisition to the people of Halifax, is the beautiful park, so generously presented to them by Frank Crossley, Esq., two years since. I was visiting the town soon after it was open, and as I well remember

having given some account of it then, I will only say now that each Summer has added much to the beauty of this much frequented and tastefully decorated spot. On Summer evenings the park was thronged with visitors, great and small; the fountain sparkled in the sunshine; the gold and silver fish played in the waters; the tiny cascade musically rippled; the snow-white swans and pretty ducks sailed upon the fairy lakes, to the supreme delight of the little boys and girls of our town! When time and strength do not admit of our distant ramblings, it is very pleasant to have such an agreeable promenade within reach, whence we can enjoy a fine panorama, together with fresh breezes from the hills.

August is the month for Floral Exhibitions in this part of the world, and there were several a few weeks since. Yorkshire is too far north to excel in the beauty of natural flowers. The show of common flowers I thought poor; but the collection of greenhouse plants contained some rare specimens, and both the Egyptian Palm and Butterfly Plant were to be seen. Elm Wood Park was kindly lent by the proprietor for the occasion to which I refer, and as the adjoining gardens of Shaw Lodge and Spring Hall were also thrown open, the scene was very gay and attractive; the weather, too, proved most propitious! (a somewhat unusual thing when open air exhibitions take place in hilly regions;) so all was *coulour de rose*, and the people threaded their way beneath the 'tall ancestral trees' of the beautiful gardens with due propriety and order, and I trust no deed was done there that would cause the proprietors to regret their kindness in throwing open their well kept grounds. Our democracy are certainly much better behaved than they used to be on such occasions, and I quite believe that the more confidence is placed in them in this respect, the more orderly will their deportment be.

But I am forgetting that my letter is to cross the Atlantic, and to be read by some who glory in the name of *Democrat*, and talk at length from the text, 'ALL MEN ARE EQUAL.' Perhaps if I had seen a more *consistent* carrying out of these principles, I might have returned to Old England a convert to Democracy; but as it is, I *loathe its very name*, and would as soon be in the hands of an Austrian tyrant as of a New York, *democratic, pro-slavery mob*! Is this to be wondered at?—One word upon anti-slavery ere I close this brief scribble.

It will, in all probability, prove a source of interest to my friends in Rochester to learn that a note from Madame Frederic Monod, just received, informs me that she is 'occupying herself actively about the translation of SOLOMON NORTHUP.' She adds: 'It is a work of such thrilling interest, that I trust it will be blessed to this holy cause.' Our friends may also be interested to know that another copy of 'Solomon' will soon be on its way to China, and that the volumes thus far sent out in England, are deepening the interest on behalf of the slave. Many of our friends are now looking forward to seeing you in this country, and your welcome will be a warm one. You have been so long expected, that to learn something more *definite* as to time rejoices not a few. Our Halifax Society intend to hold an Anti-Slavery Bazaar here in February, at which we quite hope to have you present, and from a distance many kind enquiries are made concerning you. With our united kind regards and best wishes, I remain, as ever,

Your faithful friend,

JULIA G. CROFTS.

**AUTHORITY AND DISCIPLINE
OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST AGAINST MEMBERS
WHO ACT IN COMPLICITY WITH MEN-
STEALERS; ILLUSTRATED BY THE
CHURCH IN ZANESVILLE, OHIO.**

We rejoice in the passage of the following resolution by the Congregational Association of the State of New York at its recent gathering:

Resolved, That the holding of human beings as property is an immorality, the renunciation of which ought to be made a condition of membership in the Christian Church, and that this sin is one against which the Law of God and the Gospel of Christ ought to be proclaimed, in preaching, persistently, until the iniquity be overthrown.

This is a step progressive in the right way. If Mr. Barnes's opinion is grounded in truth that the great bulwark of American slavery is its sanction by the Church, then it is the duty of the Church to disavow such sanction, to disconnect itself from those who are guilty of such sanction, and to apply the law of God and the discipline of Christ in condemnation and exclusion of slavery and slaveholders. It is also the duty of the Church, if slavery be the crime and guilt it is charged as being in the Word of God, to apply the same discipline in rebuke and exclusion of all those who undertake to execute the law of slaveholding, and who, under pretence of law, assist in bringing any of their fellow-creatures into bondage, or in giving them up as property, as chattels, into the power of the slaveholder, or in fastening the chains of slavery upon them. All such persons are accessories to the guilt and crime of man-stealing, and as such should be excluded from the Church.

We rejoice that one Church of Christ in this country has not failed to carry out these principles, and to apply the word and the discipline of Christ to the offender in that sin, without regard to the unrighteous law protecting him, and fearless as to the reproaches of men for such strict and dauntless rectitude.—If the Churches would unite in the application of the divine work and discipline of this iniquity, and to the sinners under it, the power of slavery would be broken, and it would be abolished in ten years.

We refer to the noble stand taken by the Church of Christ in Zanesville, Ohio, in dealing with an offending member and officer of that Church for the sin of aiding and abetting in the delivery of an oppressed fellow-being into slavery. He did this by virtue of being the United States Deputy-Marshall, bringing in his office under Government as an apology, excuse and justification for his violation of the law of God. He averred that his allegiance to a human government required him to do an act of inhumanity and injustice, forbidden by the divine government, condemned in God's Word, and inconsistent with his allegiance to Christ, his obligation as a Christian. The Church, knowing that he could not serve both God and Mammon, having Christ's own authority, that he must either hold to the one and despise the other, or at any rate be shut out from the kingdom of heaven, gave him his choice either to quit the office of a deacon in the Christian Church or that of slave-hunting in the political Church. They did not excommunicate him without the enjoined and proper steps previously taken, and earnest efforts to bring him to repentance, and persuaded him of his own accord to remove the disgrace he had brought upon the Church by his conduct. They proceeded with caution, forbearance and wisdom, but with dignity and firmness. He defied the Church, justified his slave-hunting employment and alacrity, and refused to make any acknowledgment of sin or any profession of repentance. Under these circumstances the Church were compelled to finish the work which Christ had appointed them to do. They would have been unfaithful to Christ, and a disgrace to themselves and to his cause had they not proceeded to excommunicate him.

But for this act they have brought upon themselves, not only the enmity and re-

proaches of an intensely pro-slavery community, but also 'the hard knocks of our unscrupulous demagogues, and timid, time-serving ministers and church-members.' The offending deacon, Mr. E. T. Cox, rejoicing in the dignity of U. S. Deputy-Marshall, and resolved to obey man rather than God, and to continue in his slave-catching occupation, whenever called upon for the hunting and delivery into bondage of any creature whom God had forbidden him so to persecute and oppress, and being on account of such immorality ignominiously expelled from the Christian Church, became in consequence a popular candidate for a more respectable government post.

The firmness of the Church in this business for Christ is worthy of all commendation. At the time when the poor fugitive Jackson was kidnapped, the Church themselves were not aware that they were so distinguished as to have among them a Deputy U. S. Marshal in the person of one of their deacons. The Sabbath previous to the kidnapping violence was the communion Sabbath, when the deacon ministered the emblems of the body and blood of the Savior of sinners, and the very next morning, to the astonishment of the members of the Church, he was discovered in the work of a malignant deaconship under the Slave Power, hunting down a poor trembling fugitive, to consign him to perpetual bondage. The brethren immediately met to inquire what could be done, and what it was their duty to do. The necessary conferences with the slave-hunting deacon were entered into, and a committee of three was raised at length to inquire whether it might not be consistent with his views of duty and obligations as a Christian to retire from his political sphere, and relinquish an office requiring the performance of duties so objectionable, so inhuman, so utterly at variance with the proper character of a member of the Church. Finding no compliance on the part of the deacon, the following resolutions were presented and discussed in a meeting of the Church, and passed with great unanimity, namely:

'Whereas, circumstances have transpired, within a few days past, in which one of the members of this Church has taken a conspicuous part, and been the instrument of the United States government in returning to perpetual bondage a fellow man, contrary to the spirit and teaching of our holy religion, and the express command of God himself, recorded in Deuteronomy xxiii, 15th and 16th verses, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee," etc.; and whereas we believe that when human law conflicts with the divine law, it becomes the duty of Christians to so separate themselves from connection with its execution that they shall not be found among the pursuers of weak and defenceless fugitives; and whereas the law of Christ, "as ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," is obligatory upon us, under all circumstances; and furthermore, the examples of Daniel and the three worthies, and many others, are given for our imitation; and though we may be required to submit to unjust laws, we are not required to execute them; therefore,

'1. Resolved, That we believe our brother Cox has participated in the fugitive slave case in a manner wholly unwarranted by the Word of God, and by so doing has grieved his brethren in the Church, and brought dishonor upon the cause of Christ, and the Church of which he is a member.

'2. Resolved, That it becomes the duty of this Church to notice the manner of action in the case which has come under his jurisdiction, as well as the fact of using deadly weapons, either by himself or person deputized by him, in violation of law, and unnecessary in the case in which they were used.

'3. Resolved, That a committee be appointed by this Church to visit brother Cox, and hear his statement of the circumstances, and get his views of duty in relation to the foregoing circumstances, and request him to resign his commission as Deputy-Marshall.

'4. Resolved, That we entertain the kindest feeling toward our brother Cox, but we are grieved that he has acted in the capacity of an oppressor of his fellow-man, and we believe it is his duty to the Church, and that it will be for the interest of the cause of Christ, to retire from a position which will cause a brother to offend.'

Deacon Cox being hereupon invited to make his defence at such time as might be most convenient for him, after some weeks appeared with an argument justifying his own course, defending the Fugitive Slave law, and his own action under it, defying the Church and its censures, and rejecting every overture. When a member of the Church of Christ thinks to excuse himself in crime, and to justify himself in helping to execute a most wicked and oppressive law against an innocent and helpless human being, by virtue of an office under government, instructing and commanding the instruments in his service for entrapping a poor fugitive into slavery, 'to take the negro dead or alive'; when a professed Christian can debase himself to such villainy, and plead that the obligations of his office release him from his obligations to Christ and humanity, and make that villainy his duty, there is no possible path of honor, truth, and integrity for the Church, in faithfulness to her Redeemer, but to expel such a creature from her communion.

There is the greater necessity for such strictness and severity in the application of the law of God and the discipline of the Church, because of the dreadful doctrines, subversive of all true morality, and destructive to our freedom, now being taught in high places, and dispersed among the people. Such doctrines and sentiments are broached by aspirants to office, and held forth for success by political parties, anxious to hoist their candidates, by such machinery, into the Presidential chair. To be available for the Presidency, according to these principles, a man must forswear his allegiance to conscience and to God, and subscribe to the wicked assertion that men and men's perverted constitutions are to be obeyed rather than God.

Let men remember the declaration of the American missionaries Hall and Nott in India, in 1813, to the British Government. 'Your excellency has been pleased to say that it is your duty to send us to England, because you have received positive orders from the Supreme Government to do so. But, Right Honorable Sir, is not this advancing a principle which, if correct, would relieve from the long recorded decision of heaven, all the sanguinary persecutors who executed the horrid decrees of Herod, Nero, and Trajan, who made themselves drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, and who, as God has declared, shall have blood to drink, for they are worthy? These persecutors destroyed the Saints of the Most High; they were positively ordered to do so by superior authority; but for doing so, have they not been sentenced to eternal death? But were they not perfectly innocent, if your Excellency reasons correctly, in saying that it is your duty in sending us away, because you are ordered to do so by superior authority? The persecutors of the saints might have reasoned in the same way, and said that it was their duty to destroy the disciples of Jesus, because they were ordered to do so by superior authority.'

'Your Excellency knows, perfectly well, that WHENEVER HUMAN COMMANDS RUN COUNTER TO DIVINE COMMANDS, THEY CEASE TO BE OBLIGATORY; and that no man can aid in the execution or support of such counter commands, without aiming violence at the authority of Heaven. Can your Excellency, or any other man, deny the truth of this?'

We receive, from time to time, communications begging us to defend the authority of God's law from the blows aimed against it by our politicians and conservative professors of religion in defence of the Fugitive Slave law, and similar abominations. The above paragraph, from the records of the American Board, is sufficient for the present.—*Dr Cheever, in The Independent.*

THE JERRY RESCUE CELEBRATION.

Letter from Gerrit Smith to John Thomas.

PETERBORO, August 27, 1859.

JOHN THOMAS, Esq., Syracuse,
Chairman of Jerry Rescue Committee,

MY DEAR SIR :—I have this day received your letter inviting me to preside at the approaching Anniversary of the Rescue of Jerry, and to prepare the papers for it. Thankful for this honor as I truly am, nevertheless I am constrained to decline it. I have presided at all the Anniversaries of this important event, and written the Address adopted at each of them. But my interest in them has declined greatly for the last two or three years: and I am now decidedly of the opinion that it is unwise to continue to repeat the farce any longer.

The Rescue of Jerry was a great and glorious event. Would to God it had been duly improved! But those who achieved it, and I include in this number all who cheered it on and rejoiced in every step of its progress, have, with few exceptions proved themselves unworthy of the work of their own hands. We delivered Jerry in the face of the authority of Congress and Courts; and, as most of us believed, in contempt also of a provision of the Constitution itself. We deliver him, believing that there was no law and could be no law for slavery. On that occasion our humanity was up; and in vain would all the authorities on earth, even the bible itself included, have bid it down. Our humanity owned Jerry for its brother: and so did it cling to him, that all the wealth of the world would not have sufficed to buy it off, or tempt it to ignore and betray him.

Oh had the thousands, who on that memorable night crowded the streets of Syracuse, but maintained the sublime elevation to which the spirit of that night exalted them, what a force for the overthrow of slavery would they not have accumulated by this time! But they soon fell from it. They soon sunk down to the low level of their political and church parties. Jerry was forgotten. Their humanity was dead:—for these parties are the grave of humanity. In proportion as a man becomes a partisan is his manhood lost:—for in that proportion is he untrue to himself, to his brother, and to God. That day, alas how distant! when every one shall be held, and be willing to be held, to his individuality, shall witness an unspeakably better condition of things than does this in which men act in parties, and stand in the strength of parties; and in which the vaguely and feebly felt responsibilities of party take the place of the definite and deeply conscious responsibilities of the individual. When our countrymen shall have risen to this higher plane of character there will be christians instead of Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians; and patriots instead of Republicans, Democrats, and Native Americans.

Of the thousands, who, on the glorious night to which we have referred, were actuated by justice and mercy, probably not less than nineteen twentieths fell immediately after under those ecclesiastical or political party influences which had previously swayed and shrivelled them. Of the thousands whose motto that glorious night was: 'No law for slavery,' perhaps not a dozen have called on their churches to adopt it, and not fifty have perseveringly refused to vote for men who recognize a law for slavery. At each of our Anniversaries the Resolutions and Address and the discussions upon them have been in harmony with the high and holy principles on which Jerry was rescued. Nevertheless the vast majority of those who enjoyed the Anniversaries returned home to act with their pro-slavery parties in Church and State.

'Jerry Rescuers' voting for men who acknowledge a law for slavery! I see not but that they are as basely inconsistent as are our Temperance Societies, forty nine fiftieths of the members of which, whilst prating for 'Prohibition,' vote for candidates who oppose it.—Indeed, always excepting an Anniversary of

the New York State Temperance Society, I do not know a greater or more shameless or more pernicious hypocrisy than an Anniversary of the Rescue of Jerry.

By the way I see that a gentleman of fine talents and high culture and marked ability as a writer, is called on to write the history of the Temperance Reformation. For my own part I had far rather that this history were hidden than published. For, if truthfully written, what is the great fact it will perpetuate?—what but the infinitely disgraceful one that the Temperance men, though ever ready to talk up and write up their cause, were as ever ready to vote it down? The cause of Temperance in this country is dead. In vain all the efforts of Temperance Societies and Temperance Newspapers and Temperance Lecturers to galvanize it into life. Never was the use of tobacco and intoxicating drinks increasing so rapidly. All who have any discernment must see that it is this boundless inconsistency and unprincipledness at the ballot box, which has killed this dear cause; and that it can never be revived by Temperance Societies and Temperance Newspapers and Temperance Lecturers that go for the election of rum drinkers.—Such stupendous and shameless hypocrisies must give place to agencies characterized by sincerity and self-denial before Temperance can come to life.

Oh no, let not the history of either the Temperance cause or the Anti-Slavery cause be written with the view of honoring their professed friends. They have both been killed at the ballot box by those friends. If written at all, let it be with the purpose of warning the world against hypocrisies.

To return from this digression, let me, my friend, again say that we had better give up the celebration of the Rescue of Jerry. The thing is quite too great and good for us.—Earnest and honest men are alone suited to it. We Jerry Rescuers are mean men and sham men. Dear Jerry's sainted spirit can take no pleasure in this our grand annual hypocrisy. The Savior, whom he so heartily chose and so faithfully followed in his last years, can have no sympathy with it. The cause of freedom is disgraced and hindered, instead of being honored and promoted by it.

Let us stand aside; and then perhaps consistent men and honest men and high-souled men will ere long come up to take our place. One of the most beautiful scenes that could bless my sight would be a Jerry Rescue Anniversary conducted by men who would as soon stay in a brothel as in a church that recognizes a law for slavery; and who would as soon vote for men who recognize a law for sheep stealing, as for men who acknowledge that a judicial decree or a statute or even a Constitution can create any obligation to protect and honor man-stealing.

In short let us who talk well against slavery stand aside for those who will vote well against it. Let our professions make room for their practice, and our hypocrisy for their sincerity.

Men make light of the crime of voting wrong: and yet there is no other crime so full of the heaviest oppression. Quite bad enough is it when, in my private or individual dealings with my fellow man, I oppress him. But when I vote against his rights, as I do when I vote for candidates, who hold that there may be a valid and obligatory and real law for his slavery, or who hold that there can be such a law for dramselling, such a law for making and keeping him a drunkard—then I vote to array the Government and the collective people against him—then I vote not that I may wrong him, not that I, with such comparatively insignificant powers as an individual can summon, may oppress him—but that a whole State, a whole nation, may fall upon him and crush him. Churches and parties may be stone-blind to it—nevertheless Heaven sees that this voting against human rights and this voting temptations in the way of the weak, constitute the mightiest wrong that men are capable of perpetrating.

Much is said and written against the breaking of human laws. But they are entitled to

obedience only so far as they are one with those Divine laws which cannot be broken.—'The law of his God' was Daniel's only law. No friend of God knows any other law.—Apostles answered and said: 'we ought to obey God rather than men:'—so too: 'whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.'—How senseless and wicked is this declamation against trampling under foot these human laws, that are no laws. To such trampling are the nations indebted for the instances of their greatest progress. Often indeed have the nations found it their only salvation. How shameless the hypocrisy of our countrymen! Whilst glorying in the historical fact that our fathers were ready to take up arms against laws imposing petty taxes on tea and paper, they nevertheless roll up the whites of their eyes in holy horror at refusals to obey laws, if laws they can be called, which sink innocent men, women and children in the hell of slavery.

The rescuers of Jerry were called rebels.—But the rebellion in the case was chargeable not on them, but on the Government. It was the Government, and not the rescuers, who were guilty of resisting law. The law in the case was the right of every innocent man to his personal liberty. That law the rescuers upheld: and against it did the Government rebel. What if its rebellion was carried on under the forms of law?—none the less was it rebellion.

People are wont to regard every enactment as law. But many an enactment is not law. Squatter Sovereignty is much extolled; and now and then there are signs that even the Republican party is fast coming to acquiesce in it. Nevertheless Squatter Sovereignty is not law. The liberty given by the Nebraska Bill to enslave men was not liberty to set up law, but to put down law—quite as emphatically such as if it had been liberty to murder men. The invasion of human rights by Government can, no more than such invasion by an individual, be law. The invaders be they Governments or individuals are the rebels; and they who resist them are the law-abiding. The passage of the Nebraska Bill afforded ample justification to the people to enter the halls of Congress and hurl the rebels from their seats. A poor chance of any other than a hempen elevation would such rebels stand, were the religion of this country christianity and its politics democracy. As things are, it is the man here and there, who dares to live the christian life on whom the American Church pounces; and it is the little handful of real democrats towards whom American politicians—American democrats—show no mercy.

It is perhaps vain as respects its effect on slavery for me, or for any one else, to remonstrate against voting for those who believe in a law for slavery, or in other words against pro-slavery voting. It is perhaps too late to bring slavery to an end by peaceable means—too late to vote it down. For many years I have feared and published my fears that it must go out in blood. My Speech in Congress on the Nebraska Bill was strongly marked with such fears. These fears have grown into belief. So debauched are the white people by slavery, that there is not virtue enough left in them to put it down. If I do not misinterpret the words and the looks of the most intelligent and noble of the black men who fall in my way, they have come to despair of the accomplishment of this work by the white people. The feeling among the blacks that they must deliver themselves gains strength with fearful rapidity. They are sensible how cruelly they have been deceived by the Liberty Party, the Free Soil Party, the Republican Party, and the great mass of even the most loud-mouthed abolitionists. They see that all these, instead of voting slavery down, have voted it up. True, the Republican Party did not promise them much. But they did not expect it would insult and exasperate them by taking the name of 'The white man's party.' They did hope for some help from this Party. But they get none. It lifts not a finger to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act;

nor to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; nor to abolish the inter-State traffic in human flesh. Nay, it goes so far as to admit that the slavery of black men (it would not dare admit it in the case of but one white man) can be legalized in every State of the Union. The Dred Scott Decision and the re-opening of the African slave trade are proofs that slavery has never strengthened itself so rapidly as during the existence of this new and misnamed Republican Party.

The Republican writers and orators declaim much against the obvious purpose of the Slave Power to overspread the Free States with slavery by the help of its 'natural ally,' the Northern Democracy. But do not these writers and orators admit the right to do this when they admit the legality of slavery in the Slave States? What is property in Virginia is by a law above human enactments property in Vermont also. He who is a slave or property in Mississippi is a slave or property in Massachusetts also. What is property anywhere, is property everywhere. Moreover, it will in the end be found to be as vain as it is inconsistent, to oppose the extension of slavery into the Free States, whilst upholding it in the Slave States. Gov. Seward was right in saying that the States must ultimately be all secured to freedom or given up to slavery. But he did not see that his standing by slavery in the Slave States renders unavailing his opposition to its extension into the Free States. Governor Seward can do nothing to prevent slavery's going where it is not, unless he holds it to be a piracy and an outlaw where it is.

No wonder then is it that in this state of facts which I have sketched, intelligent black men in the States and Canada should see no hope for their race in the practice and policy of white men. No wonder they are brought to the conclusion that no resource is left to them but in God and insurrections. For insurrections then we may look any year, any month, any day. A terrible remedy for a terrible wrong! But come it must unless anticipated by repentance and the putting away of the terrible wrong.

It will be said that these insurrections will be failures—that they will be put down. Yes, but will not slavery nevertheless be put down by them? For what portions are there of the South that will cling to slavery after two or three considerable insurrections shall have filled the whole South with horror? And is it entirely certain that these insurrections will be put down promptly, and before they can have spread far? Will telegraphs and railroads be too swift for even the swiftest insurrections? Remember that telegraphs and railroads can be rendered useless in an hour. Remember too that many, who would be glad to face the insurgents, would be busy in transporting their wives and daughters to places where they would be safe from that worst fate which husbands and fathers can imagine for their wives and daughters. I admit that but for this embarrassment Southern men would laugh at the idea of an insurrection, and would quickly dispose of one. But trembling as they would for their beloved ones, I know of no part of the world where, so much as in the South, men would be like, in a formidable insurrection, to lose the most important time, and be distracted and panic-stricken.

When the day of her calamity shall have come to the South, and fire and rape and slaughter shall be filling up the measure of her affliction, then will the North have two reasons for remorse—

First, That she was not willing (whatever the attitude of the South at this point) to share with her in the expense and loss of an immediate and universal emancipation.

Second, That she was not willing to vote slavery out of existence.

Then too when, alas, it will be too late, will be seen in the vivid light of the sufferings of our Southern brethren both black and white, how shameful and of what evil influence was the apostasy of those 'Jerry Rescuers,' who

were guilty of falling from the 'Jerry level,' and casting pro-slavery votes.

But why should I have spoken of the sorrows that await the South? Whoever he may be that foretells the horrible end of American Slavery is held both at the North and the South to be a lying prophet—another Cassandra. The South would not respect her own Jefferson's prediction of servile insurrection. How then can it be hoped that she will respect another's? If the South will not with her own Jefferson 'tremble' when reflecting that 'God is just'—if she will not see with her own Jefferson that 'the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with' her in 'a contest' with her slaves—then who is there either North or South that is capable of moving her fears and helping her to safety?

Respectfully your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

A FREE-BORN WOMAN TEN YEARS A SLAVE IN TEXAS—HER ESCAPE TO TORONTO.

The Toronto *Globe* gives an account of the perils of Sarah Jane Giddings, alias Young, who about a month since, while at the Falls, concluded to leave her mistress' service, and fled across the river to Canada. Her master, not disposed to part with his 'property' (a likely and fine looking mulatto woman, 22 years of age,) in this manner, followed Sarah Jane to the Clifton House, where she had obtained employment, and attempted to induce her to return with him. In this effort, it is said, the proprietor of the Clifton House aided the Southerner so far as he could, and even entrapped the girl, with a design to surrender her to her former owner. Sarah Jane tells her story to the Editor of the *Globe*, as follows:

On Saturday Mr. Shears requested Sarah Jane to go to one of the cottages adjoining the Hotel, for the purpose of cleaning it out, accompanying her himself to the door. As soon as she entered she found to her great amazement her old master waiting to receive her. He immediately locked the door, and, putting the key in his pocket, plied every possible art to induce her to cross the river. Every offer, however, was rejected, the girl preferring her freedom to slavery, with all its promised advantages. He kept her here for some time, refusing to let her go, threatening violence, if necessary. Fortunately, some of the colored waiters noticed that all was not right, and, after receiving no satisfaction from Mr. Shears, to whom they communicated their fears, they resolved on rescuing their friend themselves. Sallying out, they broke the window, entered the room, and carried off their prize, taking her to Drummondville, where they kept her till Monday, and sent her off to Toronto. The *Globe* says, she arrived safely in that city, and will, no doubt, be perfectly secure. It was reported that her master was at the Rossin House, and some of her colored friends were on the lookout for the gentleman. She is quite destitute having left everything behind her, but she will not want friends in her new home. Her case is a very peculiar one. She was born of a free woman in New York City, but when only twelve years of age was taken to Texas, where she was made a slave in the family of Mr. Giddings, with whom, we believe, she has since lived. She longed for freedom, she says, and it has been providentially arranged that she should at length gain the boon. If Mr. Shears acted the disgraceful part which is attributed to him, he is exceedingly reprehensible. Surely such scenes as the above are fitted to convince the apologists of slavery that the peculiar institution is not the happy thing which they picture it, else we would not witness a poor helpless girl, resisting alike violence and bribe, cast herself upon strangers in a strange land, preferring liberty to all the sensual enjoyments which a slaveholder could offer.

—The citizens of Christ Church parish, near Charleston, S. C., have voted to have a grand slave-trade barbecue at that place on the 20th of October, at which all the prominent advocates of the re-opening in the State will be invited to attend.

APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC.

We trust that the following appeal to the Northern public by four colored seamen, now in prison in Wilmington, North Carolina, will meet with a cordial response. This case is one of peculiar hardship. The poor fellows are far from home, without friends, without money to employ counsel; popular feeling is against them, and however meager the evidence, they are likely, unless help come speedily, to be convicted of a crime of which the penalty is death. Were it the worst of crimes, they would be entitled to counsel and to an impartial trial. The charge is, that they have 'abducted' a piece of property, which was and is a part of the real and personal estate of a clergyman—the Rev. Michael Robbins. The culprits shipped in Boston last month. Shall they be hung because the servant of a minister of the Gospel chose to take passage northward on board of their schooner?—*Tribune*.

WILMINGTON, N. C., Aug. 31, 1859.

We are here in jail on the charge of abducting a slave, the property of the Rev. Michael Robbins, who was found secreted on board the schooner George Harriss, while on a passage to your city from this port, which caused us to be brought back, when an investigation was had, and we were committed to jail, and are to be tried for our lives in October. The penalty for same, by the laws of this State, is 'DEATH.'

The vessel is owned here, and the loss to her owners being great, we cannot expect help, or even sympathy from them—nor can we obtain a lawyer without means, and can only appeal to Northern friends for help in this our 'time of need.' Public sentiment is against us. We are all colored men. The excitement is great, and if funds can be raised to employ a lawyer, and we succeed in having our trial removed to an adjoining county, with the meager testimony bearing on the case, we will be acquitted. If without counsel, and our case is tried here, with popular feeling against us, we fear the result. The only witness is the slave himself, whose evidence is admissible against his own color, but not against a white. The other witnesses are gentlemen who found the slave on board, but are not aware how he came there.

We shipped on board the schooner George Harriss, in Boston, as seamen, early in this month. We have written our friends for help, and appeal to you for assistance, and all who feel for suffering humanity, for aid.

Please publish this, if practicable, and get all papers friendly to us to copy. Your servants,

William Tubbs, Taunton, Mass., born in Elizabeth City, N. C. William Weaver, Boston, Mass., born in Sierra Leone. John Williams, Boston, Mass., born in Sandwich Islands. Tom Winisfield, New York, born on the Island St. Kitts; well known in St. Thomas as an English subject.

THE HYANNIS KIDNAPPING CASE.—The Hyannis kidnapping case has been postponed till Nov. 15, when it will be tried at Barnstable. Indictments have been found against Crowell and Orlando, the captain and mate of the vessel in which the fugitive Jones escaped, and against John W. Baker, a Boston merchant, who is the principal owner. Bacon, the captain of the vessel which carried Jones back to Pensacola, has 'turned State's evidence.' He was bribed in the sum of \$500 to carry Jones back, and his evidence as to the bargain will probably dispose of the objection which the defense greatly rely upon, that the crime was not committed within the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth. Poor Bacon has fared very hardly. By going out of his way to serve the doughface owners of the vessel in which Jones escaped, he forfeited his freight-money, and has lost the expected profits of his voyage; and I understand he has not yet received a dollar of the bribe by which he was bought into Slavery's service. Mr. John W. Baker will do a wise thing if he sends an agent with fifteen hundred dollars to Pensacola, and purchases Jones before the trial comes on.—*Cor. Tribune*.

SPEECH OF REV. DR. CHEEVER,
BEFORE THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS
FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, HELD IN PHILA-
DELPHIA, OCT. 5, 1859.

Dr. George B. Cheever of New York obtained the floor, and moved the following amendment or addition to the report concerning the Choctaw and Cherokee Churches:

'Your Committee add that in the opinion of the Board the holding of slaves should be pronounced an immorality inconsistent with membership in any Christian Church, and that it should be required that these Missionary Churches should immediately put away from themselves this sin, and should cease to sanction it even in appearance.'

Dr. Cheever proposed this amendment because, for the redemption of the Board from the imputation already brought against it of complicity with the sin of Slavery, it was bound to give to the world some such expression of its views; and this seemed the only occasion. It was not to be endured that through the attitude and influence of this Board in the sanction of Slavery, the power of the Church with the Gospel of God against this sin should be hindered and weakened.—But so it had been, while this Board had churches under its charge to whose communion slaveholders were admitted as Christians. Whenever this is done, the power of the Church in her appeal against Slavery is destroyed. But not only so, such an appeal convicts the Church of hypocrisy and leads the world to infidelity; for how can the world respect a Church that is seen receiving to her own fellowship and defending, on the grounds of expediency, that which she denounces to the world as sin. And such is the gross and shameful inconsistency in any Church professing to regard Slavery as wrong, and warning the world against it in the name of God, and yet admitting slaveholders, the only persons under heaven who practice the sin and make merchandise of men, to the Lord's table in good and regular standing as Christian merchants in human flesh. If slaveholding be permitted in the Christian Church, neither that crime nor the system that grows out of it can be condemned by the Church, nor made to appear sinful in the eye of the world. But if made to appear by other efforts, influences, and teachings than those of the Church; if made to appear sinful by the world's philanthropists taking higher and more consistent ground than the Church takes; if made so to appear by the common conscience of the Church, under the law written on their hearts—the common sentiment and impulse of mankind compelling them to regard slaveholding as oppressive and unchristian, while the Christian conscience, debauched and stupified, proclaims it as a virtue, or if wrong in the beginning yet passed into a necessity and a virtue, by expediency, by long possession and practice, on the principle of wrong becoming right because of the difficulty of undoing the wrong, and the long-continued and accumulating profits of the wrong passing into a vested system, sanctioned and protected by law; because, also, of the wrong, with its profits and its means of living, passing into an inheritance, and having descended from slaveholders to their families, from men-stealers to their children, from planters to their households, as a domestic institution;—if the conscience of the Church, on these grounds, demands its toleration, demands the admission of slaveholders into the Church by the right of possession in crime, by the principle of squatter sovereignty on the premises of God passing into sacred, sanctifying custom, and being exalted into law—then the conscience of the world must inevitably oppose and despise the conscience of the Church as an unchristian conscience; the moral sense of the world cannot do otherwise than reject such a piety as unsound and rotten, such professed godliness as an abomination, such orthodoxy and benevolence as hypocrisy and a lie.

The dealings and character of the Church become condemned and vile in the sight of the world on the points of common justice and

humanity between man and man; and, if the Church were the only hope of the world's salvation in such a case—if the world's knowledge and reception of true piety depended on the Church, there would be no hope, no possible redemption. The world will set the Word of God itself against the Church, and the Church must become a scoffing and a by-word. Here is the alternative: either a total blank infidelity, or else the reception and belief of a false, anti-Christian, slaveholding Christianity; either the reception of the Word and rejection of the Church, or the rejection of the Word and reception of the Church. Either the Church is false, or the Word is false. Which dilemma is to be adopted? Or will the world, unable to distinguish between the Church and the Word, reject both together? Such is the frightful gulf which the practice of any sin by the Church, though condemned in the Word of God, opens before us. Now, if there is any sin at all in slavery, slaveholding is that sin. And, if the system of slaveholding is wrong, the slaveholder himself is the sinner. There could be no such thing as Slavery, if the slaveholder himself did not voluntarily hold slaves. If he holds them not as slaves, but as freemen, denying any man's right to them as property, but only to protect them from being held as slaves, then he is not a slaveholder. If, in such case, he is compelled, in order to keep the power of protecting them, to *seem* to be a slaveholder, then in order to avoid the appearance of evil, and preserve the Church from seeming to sanction the crime of slaveholding, he ought to be kept out of the Church in order that slaveholding be not brought in and sanctioned.

The pretense of injustice toward a good man, in keeping him out of the Church because of his entanglement in this sin, must not be made a shield for the continuance of the injustice of Slavery. It might just as well be argued that murder is not sin *per se*, because murder is simply the killing of a man; but the sheriff also kills a man when he hangs the murderer, and, therefore, murder cannot be indicted as sin *per se*, since the sheriff has to do murder as a virtue. The Church may not seem to do evil, and thus embolden others to practice the evil, and maintain it as right. Rather than embolden the world to practice Slavery by letting them imagine, from the admission of slaveholding to the Church, that slaveholding is not essentially sinful, but may consist with piety and the will of God, let every slaveholder in appearance be kept out of the Church, that the slaveholders in reality may not get in. Ten thousand evil examples out of the Church are not so bad as one within.—Hence the indignation, sarcasm, contempt, against rum-selling deacons. Hence the very popular storm of rebuke against the American Tract Society for its course in protecting the iniquity of Slavery. It is a singular contradiction when those who accuse the Tract Society for covering up this sin refuse to call upon the American Board not to sanction it, or even denounce as Abolition agitators, those who ask the Board to keep this sin out of the Churches. The American Board itself in 1836 passed a resolution forbidding the missionaries to hire slaves, even though at the wish of the slaves, and for the purchase of their freedom, because this could not be done without incurring the reputation of slaveholding. So careful were the Board at that time of their Christian reputation, that they said 'As it has appeared to the Committee that in consequence of these transactions the Board, or its missionaries, have been regarded by some as holding slaves, therefore resolved, that the missionaries among the South-western Indians be instructed to enter into no more such contracts, and to relinquish all such contracts.' This is certainly the right principle. But if proper to be applied to the hiring of slaves, how much more to the holding of them by Church members; how much more to the exclusion of such slaveholders from the Church? and if the imputation upon missionaries themselves of being slaveholders was so injurious, and so anxiously to be avoided, why not also

in the case of Church members? Is it more sinful for a missionary to hold slaves than for any Church member? Or can the Board any more easily afford to wink at Slavery in the Missionary Churches, than in the Missionary households? In either case it is such an enormity that the Board ought not to be willing for a moment to incur the imputation of it. The Board ought to have placed themselves in absolute and total opposition to this wickedness in any shape. As a Board of Commissioners for the salvation of the African race, they might annually have renewed their testimony against Slavery, and their demand for its abolition in various appropriate and powerful modes. At any rate they should carefully have avoided sanctioning it, even in appearance. They have had it for 48 years directly in their way, directly beneath their power, directly calling for action against it.

Under the system of inaction and indifference, it has so maintained its ground that at length not only the Ecclesiastical bodies that maintain the system which makes them the reproach of Christendom stand ready to receive and nourish the slaveholding Churches, but the politicians, and the whole slaveholding policy and power of the United States, are waiting to receive a Slave State, a new Slave State into the Union, from under the favorable tuition and molding of the religion of the Board for nearly fifty years! Experience shows that the only attack with the word of God against sin which cannot be evaded, is that which designates the sinner, and not merely the system. If any door of industrial apology or exception be opened, the whole system rides through it. The General Assembly of 1850 resolved that 'the holding of our fellow men in the condition of Slavery, except in those cases where it is unavoidable by the laws of the State the obligations of guardianship, or the demands of humanity, is an offense in the proper import of that term as used in the Book of Discipline.' Through that exception all the slaveholders in the land immediately passed in procession, as by an enlargement in the eye of the needle all the camels in the world, with all their accumulation of luggage, may be seen marching into the kingdom of heaven. In the Assembly of 1855, the Presbytery of Winchester, in Virginia, notified the Assembly and all the Churches, that the exceptions stated in the resolutions of the Assembly were considered to cover the vast majority of cases, if not every case of slaveholding in the land; and in an address to their constituents, published after the adjournment of the Assembly, united in by the body of representatives from the Southern States, the same thing was avowed in terms more unqualified, and at greater length. Since that time, the kingdom of salvation by slaveholding suffereth violence, and all are pressing into it, and the violent take it by force. It is now asserted that the obligations of guardianship, the demands of humanity, and the dictates of the highest piety, as well as the laws of the slaveholding States, require the perpetuity of the system, and constitute, for every case of slaveholding, a case of good intention, justificatory motives and circumstances, and of religious expediency and necessity. The state of conflict in our country, the aggressions of the Slave Power, the impious doctrines advanced and avowed in behalf of Slavery as a righteous system, the most unfortunate and disastrous complicity of the Board hitherto with it, as well as the claims of the millions crushed by it, forbid that the Board should any longer refuse an open attitude against it, or should neglect any of the precious opportunities offered in the providence of God effectually to oppose it, or should relinquish their power over it and their hold upon it, until they have administered all those means of grace to it which God has given in his word, all those agencies of reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness, and all that authority of discipline committed to the Churches against such a sin for its removal. If the Board deliver up this authority and power, which is greater than the strength of Samson against Dagon, they will

play the Delilah to the Philistines, without even the eleven hundred pieces of silver; nay, their treasury will be emptier than ever, and their moral dignity will be degraded irreparably by such a transaction. On the other hand, if they let this iniquity off; if, instead of opening the prison door and letting the oppressed go free, they let the iniquity and those who practice it go free; if they let this moral monster in the Church of Christ escape out of the hands, whom God has denounced as worthy of death, and whom God has laid bound before them in the very act and character of his wickedness for their authoritative application of the sentence of God's Word, then they will be more guilty than the besotted Ahab, King of Israel, when, out of pretended humanity, peace, and worldly wisdom, he released, unscathed, the enemy of his country and his God. 'Thus saith the Lord, Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people.' The Board have no right to let Slavery escape, or to refuse to execute God's commission against it, and, least of all, on the ground of the difficulty of confronting it and dealing with it, when in his good providence he has laid this giant sin on his own altar before them, and given them the Sword of the Spirit to plunge into its heart.

Let them stand and exercise this royal priesthood against sin. A grander occasion, a more solemn and illustrious opportunity of striking such a blow, could not be asked by them. It is as a Mount Carmel in the gaze of the world, who have seen us traveling up hither as to a challenge of the trial of power between God and Baal. Let the Board, before renouncing its guardianship of these churches, apply the truth of God and the discipline of Christ's house to them, and put away this sin, and then, if the path of duty is plain to give them over to some other pupilage, it can be done with honor, in faithfulness to Christ, but not till then. The Board ought not to relinquish their trust with these churches till they can do it with clean hands—till they have either cast out domoniac possession that afflicts them, or have brought them to Jesus, and laid them at his feet for this purpose. But here they are advised to give over these uncured sufferers, whom Satan hath bound and tormented these many years, into the hands of doctors who do not regard the possession as the work of Satan, or as any affliction or iniquity at all, but on the contrary, as the ministry of an angel of light, and a desirable instrumentality of God's most holy missionary providence. You propose, if you agree to this, transferring over your patient to these new guardians—in effect, to say: 'Take him; we can make nothing of him; he is more plague than profit—a very obstinate, incurable devil, whom the world and the Christian Abolitionists will not suffer us to keep any longer as a saint. But you can take him as a child of God, and nourish him with food convenient for him, and harness him for a work of glory in your own missionary field. With you it is a work of love; with us it is nothing but toil, difficulty, embarrassment and danger.' We cannot, in faithfulness to our trust, in honor to God's Word, or with any dignity or safety to ourselves, pursue any such policy as this. We are driven to the wall, and cannot refuse to 'stand up for Jesus,' in the true meaning of that watchword here, where that watchword was issued from the dying lips of that young soldier of Christ, who is known to have spoken it in reference to this very conflict against Slavery, and to have meant by it, with all the dying emphasis of those principles for which he had been excluded from his former church, and had gathered around him a new band, 'Stand up for Jesus in protection of the cause of the dumb and down-trodden slave, with the gospel of the abolition of this wickedness.' That was what young Tyng meant; and when we see young and old, Young Men's Christian Associations, churches, assemblies, Missionary Societies, holding back from its reality, rejecting and denying its true meaning, and yet boasting of it in another sense, we tremble at the last words

of Malachi, and cannot but feel that except God turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and of the children to the fathers, in this thing, he must come and smite the land with a curse.

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

MR. JAY'S REMARKS ON PRESENTING THE PETITION AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE, IN THE EPISCOPAL CONVENTION.

Mr. President: I rise to present a petition addressed to this Convention by members of the Diocesan Church; a petition respectful in its tone and legitimate in its prayer, and as it is short and explains itself more briefly than I could do by an oral explanation, I will read it. Before reading it I will remark that I do not propose now to discuss any of the questions it may bring before us, but simply to refer it to a special committee of three clergymen and three laymen, with instructions to report thereon to the next Convention, the lateness of the hour allowing no opportunity for a proper examination of the matter at our present session.

The petition reads thus:

To the Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York:

The undersigned, members of the said church in the said diocese, respectfully show to your honorable and reverend body that it hath recently been made matter of public notoriety, by the proceedings in our courts of law, the avowals of prominent statesmen, and the developments of the American press, that, in defiance of the laws of God, and of the ancient statutes of this republic, the African slave trade hath been re-opened, and is now being prosecuted from the port of New York, within the limits and jurisdiction of this diocese.

The undersigned further show, that so powerful is the influence exerted in favor of the said trade, and so vitiated is the moral sense of a part of the community in regard to the same, that the legalizing of the said traffic is openly advocated, and the laws that denounce the same as piracy are mocked at and trampled upon with impunity.

Your memorialists do therefore respectfully and earnestly pray your honorable and reverend body to take such steps as, on deliberation, to your wisdom shall seem meet to encourage a sound Christian sentiment on this subject, and to stay this growing evil, to the intent that by the voice and influence of our Church, truth and justice may be more firmly established in our Diocese, and especially that the city of New York, where the Church of England was so early planted, and so liberally endowed, and where our Diocesan Convention holds its sittings, may be purged of its present participation in this stupendous crime.

(Signed)

J. F. Butterworth, J. B. Silkman,
J. A. C. Gray, W. H. Robertson,
C. S. Bourne, J. G. Holbrooke,
J. Butler Wright.

I move, sir, that this petition be received and referred to a committee of six clergymen, and six laymen, to report thereon at the next Convention; and I had not proposed to make any further remarks on this motion, beyond observing that the subject is so grave, and relates so clearly to matter within our Diocesan limits, and the cognizance and jurisdiction of this body, that I trusted whatever differences of opinion might obtain among gentlemen in regard to the best course for furthering the objects of the petition, the Convention would be unanimous in their determination, that their action upon it should be so calm, so deliberate and so judicious, as to meet the just expectations of their petitioners, promote the sound morality of the diocese, and enhance the dignity and usefulness of the Diocesan Church.

But, sir, I am advised by one or two gentlemen who profess to know the temper of this body, that I am too sanguine in my expectations—that this petition will be treated with

contempt and laid upon the table, by a vote cutting off debate, and that this course will be adopted on the plea of preserving the tranquillity of the Diocese. Upon this question of reference, therefore, I will say a word.

I trust, for the honor and peace of the Church, that my advisers are mistaken. I hope that this Convention will pause before it commits itself to such a course. If there is one lesson clearly taught us by the woful experience during recent years, of legislative bodies and religious councils in this country, it is that the very surest method of arousing and intensifying agitation, is to gag debate and trample on petitions; and I firmly believe that this Convention, by treating this petition with contempt, will produce the very result they wish to avoid, and raise new issues in regard to the rights of the laity, and the proprieties of legislation, upon which they will be beaten as inevitably as have been the sectarian assemblies whose exploded and wretched policy in regard to the treatment of petitions I understand this Convention is to be asked to imitate.

I need scarcely say, sir, that these petitioners—men of high character and position among us, and well known for their moderate views and conservative principles—have no wish to disturb the tranquillity of the Church. They are men of common sense, and they know that there is nothing in this petition; that there would be nothing in its reference to a special committee; nothing in the wise, judicious action of this body on the report of that committee, whatever that action might be calculated to disturb the tranquillity of any person in the diocese, excepting the slave traders, to whose villainies these petitioners object, and that class of men deemed respectable, or otherwise, who lend them their sympathies, who share in secret their accursed profits, and who are seeking to legalize the traffic.

That is the only class in our diocese whose tranquillity need be disturbed by a reference of this petition, and who will doubtless approve warmly and heartily a refusal to refer it.

I hope the Convention will not misunderstand the question. It is not whether the Convention ought to take any steps or not in regard to the actual prevention of the slave trade from our diocese, as certified by these petitioners; that is for the committee to report upon. The only question here is, Shall the petition be referred quietly, without debate, without agitation—shall the Church, in calm consciousness of strength, treat this subject with composure, and deliberately ask what is her duty; or shall she shrink from it in terror, as other denominations have done, and rival them in an exhibition of weakness, cowardice and folly?

If the Convention determine to shirk the matter, I dare say it may be all for the best. I, for one, shall wait patiently for the reversal of its decision, as I did the admission of the Church of St. Phillips, where, after eleven years, this Convention placed the seal of its approval upon what for ten years it had shunned as fanaticism.

But believing, as I do, that the rejection of this petition will inevitably arouse agitation, and that year by year you will be called upon in tones more and more imperative, to confront the question of the slave trade, flourishing under the very shadow of old Trinity, and going forth to desolate Africa and renew the horrors of the middle passage, I ask the Convention to remember, as the laity and the public will remember, that it was not these petitioners but their opponents in this body who inaugurated the storm, and who now propose to sow the wind with a moral certainty that they will reap the whirlwind.

On the conclusion of Mr. Jay's remarks a motion was made to lay the petition on the table, but it was withdrawn on a suggestion that the same end could be answered by a direct vote on the resolution of reference.

—One Opposition member of Congress has been elected in Georgia. He is, of course, as pro-slavery as any Democrat.

LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, Sept. 19, 1859.

Mr. FREDERICK DOUGLASS: MY DEAR FRIEND:—I have just read the last number of your paper. Your able and interesting article on American Civilization is entitled to a wide circulation. I see that neither you nor our friend J. R. Johnson think me right in declining to attend the approaching Anniversary of the 'Jerry Rescue.'

And so even you are still ignorant of what I mean by the phrase: 'NO LAW FOR SLAVERY!' You think that all I mean by it is 'that there can be no righteous law for slavery.' If this is all, then I admit that you are right in placing the 'Jerry Rescuers' and the Republican party on the same level with myself. But this is very far from being all my meaning.

Why does the Republican Legislature of our State refuse from Session to Session to enact that fugitives from the great Southern Prison House shall be protected on our soil? Because in their judgment a law—valid and obligatory notwithstanding its immorality—forbids such an enactment. But what they see to be law I see to be no law. That which restrains them imposes no restraint on me.—Neither the Fugitive Slave Law Act, nor any thing in the Constitution, could in the least degree hinder my legislating for the protection of the fugitive slave. Do I not then at this point, where you fancy I am one with the Republican party, differ very widely from it—the Legislature being admitted to represent it? And do I not also at this same point differ as widely from those 'Jerry Rescuers' whose votes help make a Republican Legislature?

Again, were a fugitive slave seized in Albany, and about to be hurried to the South without a trial, Governor Morgan would doubtless be ready to wield the whole military power of the city, if need be, to secure to him what he the Governor would call a 'fair trial.' So would Judge Parker, were he the Governor: and so would Mr. Burrows, were he the Governor. But were I the Governor, I should be ready to wield it not only to save the slave from being hurried away, but also from the degradation and oppression of this 'fair trial.' I would no more permit, could I prevent it, the trial in his case of the question whether a man is a man or a chattel—a sublime and sacred immortal or a vulgar commodity—than I would permit it in the case of any one of these three distinguished gentlemen. In a word, I would regard the self-styled Court that should attempt to carry on this trial as a mob, and as much entitled as any other mob to be dispersed. Do I not differ then as essentially from the Republican type as I do from the Democratic or Native American? Moreover, these gentlemen, tho' perhaps admitting the Statute to be unrighteous, would nevertheless all enforce the Fugitive Slave Statute. But I would resist its enforcement. And does not this also prove that my views of law differ from theirs?—I beg you, my dear friend, not to try any further to make it appear that I am after all like the politicians, and am no fanatic. Let my real views of law remain undisguised, even though the world shall continue to call them fanatical. I appreciate your kindness in trying to save my reputation at this point.—But you cannot save it.

And so too after all I have written these many years to make plain what I mean by helping the South bear the loss of the abolition of slavery, even you do not understand me! Some people will have it that what I mean by it is to recognize the moral—others the legal right of slaveholding. You place yourself among the latter. I confess that I am well nigh discouraged from all further attempts at making myself understood at this point. Nevertheless I will in a few words undertake it once more.

First, Suppose I see one man trying to murder another. I offer the murderer a hundred dollars to desist. He accepts it: and goes away declaring that I admit the right to murder. Would he represent me fairly?

Second, Suppose I tell the slaveholders that I will give them all my property, ay and my life too, if they will let my oppressed brethren go free. Is this recognizing the right to hold them in slavery? Surely, no more right is recognized in this case than in the other. I have given many thousand dollars to slaveholders to induce them to liberate their slaves. Is it not absurd to say that my gifts involved the admission of their right to be slaveholders?

Third, But am I to be held as recognizing either the moral or legal right of slaveholding because when telling the slaveholders what I would have the nation offer them to induce them to emancipate their slaves, I at the same time admit the connexion of the North with the South in establishing, encouraging, upholding, and continuing slavery; and infer from such connexion that the North is a responsible sharer with the South in the crime of slavery, and is therefore bound to share in the loss of abolishing it?

You ask me 'upon what principle of ethics' I can associate with slaveholders 'as gentlemen.' I confess that it is perhaps not upon principle that I do so. Perhaps it is only through the force of habit—my father having been a slaveholder until after I had reached manhood and had formed my habits of intercourse with men—my wife having been a slaveholder when I married her—and a number of my friends and relatives still being slaveholders. Am I not, in the light of such facts, entitled to a little patience at this point? It is however but justice to myself and to the slaveholder to add, that whilst you and I do from our more favorable stand-point see the criminality of slaveholding, most slaveholders see it very imperfectly, and many do not see it at all—Hence it is not difficult to find a slaveholder who is characterized and adorned with virtues which enter largely into the composition of a gentleman.

But, my old friend, if it is a wonder that I can associate with Southern men who are blinded by their education, the greater wonder is that I can associate with Northern pro-slavery men for whom this plea of blindness cannot be made.

Your friend, GERRIT SMITH.

Barnum is actually said to have offered Mr. Spurgeon, the celebrated English Baptist preacher, £2,000 a year to come to America and make a lecturing tour. Mr. Spurgeon replied by writing simply, 'Acts xii: 10,' and sending it to Barnum. The verse reads thus: 'O full of subtilty and of all mischief, thou child of the devil, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?'

SOME OF THE BEAUTIES OF SLAVERY

In the year 1851, a family resided in Olio street, near Prytania street, in New Orleans. The head of the family, Mr. I. S., was a native of New York, his wife was a native of Charleston, S. C., a Miss H. C. At this time they were both well advanced in years, he being about 53 and his lady about 50 years. They had a large family, viz., one daughter, married, who lived with them; a single daughter, and five sons. They had also in the house, as a boarder, a Frenchman, named G—, who was a first-rate watch maker, but who is now in San Francisco. They owned slaves; among them were two little girls, sisters, that they had purchased but a few months before, aged about 9 and 11 years respectively. The two little children had to do all the errands and the whole work of the house, with the exception of cooking and washing. They had no bed to rest on, the only place allowed them being the floor, the only covering a blanket. These two poor children had no regular meals; after the family had got through their meals, whatever was left on their plates was scraped together; and this, with an extra piece of stale bread, was all the food given to two hard working human beings. The consequence was, the poor children were always starving with hunger. Thus matters went on for some time, when one day the cravings of their digestive organs were so strong that they were tempted to help themselves to a piece of fresh bread; the key of the bread closet having, by some mistake, been left in. They eat, between them, a whole five-cent loaf. The lady of the house, missing her key, went for it, and missed the loaf. These poor children, not thinking it a very great crime, promptly confessed having eaten it. In the evening, when Mr. I. S. came home, his kind-hearted lady informed him of the pilfering propensities of these two little children.—He had them taken into a large room, and stripped of all their clothing, and then he beat these poor creatures with a cowhide, laying it on with all his might for about fifteen minutes; and they had to be put to bed sick, to save their lives. When they got better, as a further punishment, their food was made more scant, which was too scant before. One of the little girls, the youngest, seeing a piece of bread on the sideboard, in the dining-room, when her kind-hearted mistress was there, quietly put her hand on the bread and told Mrs. I. S. that she must have it, for she was starving. Scarcely had she got the bread to her mouth, when Mrs. I. S. darted at her, snatched the bread from her, and gave her two slight taps. In the evening she was again called into the presence of Mr. I. S. Seeing him have the cowhide in his hand, and remembering the last cruel and unjust flagellation she had had, she turned round, made one spring, cleared the back piazza, and threw herself down the sink. It was only by great exertions that this poor creature was saved from suffocating. These exertions were not made from any feeling of humanity, but from interested motives, the said child being worth some seven or eight hundred dollars. The finger of God has been the avenger of these poor creatures. The eldest son, a good man, was destroyed by the premature discharge of a cannon; another son turned out dishonest and disgraced the family.—*A. S. Standard.*

—The *Cleveland Leader* says, since the release of the Rev. J. W. Fitch from the Cuyahoga Jail, where he was long unjustly and cruelly imprisoned by the Jeffreys Government Pursuers under the infamous Fugitive Slave Act, the mothers of the Oberlin Sabbath-School children have presented Mrs. Fitch—the noble wife who shared with her husband much of the imprisonment—with a beautiful sewing machine, in testimony of service rendered by Mr. F. as Superintendent of the Sabbath-School during the last sixteen years.

—There are now ten Anti-Slavery papers printed in the Slave States (in English,) beside eight in German. Of these, nine, or one-half, are published in Missouri, three in Virginia, two at Washington, D. C., one in Maryland, and one in Baltimore.

THE WEBSTER STATUE.

[From the Liberator.]

THE STATUE MUST BE REMOVED. Let this be the popular decree to-morrow—let the declaration go forth from the lips of every upright man—let it be the voice of Massachusetts. A vote of the Legislature can undo what a vote has done. That vote can be secured by a prompt circulation of a respectful petition, to be signed by all who in their hearts respond to the cry—THE STATUE MUST BE REMOVED. Such a petition has already been prepared; it is in these words:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, Citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to remove from the State House grounds—as no honor to the State and repugnant to the moral sense of the people—the statue of Daniel Webster, whose last years were spent in defending the Fugitive Slave bill, and whose last counsel to the Commonwealth was to 'conquer her prejudices' against Slave-hunting, and to return men to bondage 'with alacrity.'

This issue is so clearly connected with the abolition of the Slave system, and the overthrow of the Slave Power, that we regard it as the special anti-slavery duty of the hour in this State. Every blow that shall fall upon the iron image will break a fetter in Carolina: its removal, in accordance with a regenerated public sentiment, will be a heavy stroke to the hopes and machinations of the enemies of impartial freedom, North and South.

This is no personal matter, and therefore not urged in the spirit of personal hostility.—It is not in reference to one who filled a private sphere, and acted upon his own responsibility, without involving others. Far otherwise.

They who conceived the idea of such a statue, to be in such form, under such auspices, and in such a place, and who have succeeded in the accomplishment of their purpose, are too well-known to render their motives at all doubtful. Their admiration of Mr. Webster rose in proportion as he degraded himself by his servility to the South—his scorn and hatred of the antislavery movement—his advocacy of the Fugitive Slave bill. Every step that he took downward in his pro-slavery course, received their warm commendation. Stung to the quick on finding that he had thereby lost his hold upon the respect and confidence of the people of Massachusetts, they resolved to procure his statue, and make the attempt—seemingly a forlorn one—to place it by legislative permission upon the State House grounds, and thus obtain an endorsement of his public career on the part of the Commonwealth itself. We feel warranted in saying that they did not expect their overture would be accepted; for in view of the all-prevailing disgust and indignation at his evil course, what ground had they to dream of success? It was the letter of Gov. Banks to the Legislature, recommending a ready compliance with that overture, that turned the scale, and inflicted the disgrace. Had he done his duty, by expressing the hope that no such permission as was asked would be granted, because it would be at variance with the feelings and wishes of the people at large, the wily projectors of the scheme would have been baffled, and the self-respect and dignity of the State vindicated. This act alone should make his re-election an impossible event, let who will be his successor.

Friends of humanity! lovers of freedom! disciples of Him who came to set the captive free! read the following arrogant, defiant, inhuman sentiments from the lips of the man whose image is to be set up to-morrow, with all the 'pomp and circumstance' of a civic and military demonstration! (1)

'My public speeches show my opinion to have been decidedly in favor of a proper, efficient and well-guarded law for the recovery of fugitive slaves. In my judgment, the present law is constitutional; and all good citizens are bound to respect and obey it, just as freely and readily as if they had voted for it

themselves. I think agitation on the subject ought to cease.'

'The Fugitive Slave law is the law of the land, and, as usual, is to be respected and obeyed by all good citizens. I have heard no man whose opinion is worth regarding deny its constitutionality, and those who counsel violent resistance to it counsel that which, if it takes place, is sure to lead to bloodshed, and to the commission of capital offences.—It remains to be seen how far the deluded and deluders will go on in this career of faction, folly and crime.'

'I hold the Fugitive Slave law to be a law entirely constitutional, highly proper, and absolutely essential to the peace of the country.'

'I put it to all the sober and sound minds at the North, as a question of morals and a question of conscience. What right have they, in their legislative capacity, or any other capacity, to endeavor to get round this Constitution, or to embarrass the free exercises of the rights secured by the Constitution to the persons whose slaves escape from them?—None at all; none at all. Neither in the forum of conscience nor before the face of the Constitution are they, in my opinion, justified in such an attempt. * * * I repeat, here is a well-founded ground of complaint against the North, which ought to be removed; which calls for the enactment of proper laws, authorizing the judicature of this government, in the several States, to do all that is necessary for the recapture of fugitive slaves, and for their restoration to those who claim them.—Wherever I go, and wherever I speak on the subject (and when I speak here, I desire to speak to the whole North,) I say that the South has been injured in this respect, and has a right to complain.'

'The excitement [in Boston] caused by the Fugitive Slave law is fast subsiding, and it is thought that there is now no probability of any resistance, if a fugitive should be arrested.'

THE STATUE MUST BE REMOVED!

'AND LET ALL THE PEOPLE SAY, AMEN!'

(1) 'Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the vultures, and other unclean birds of prey, be gathered together.'

ANDOVER, Mass., Sept. 10, 1859.

GENTLEMEN: I promise myself, in compliance with your invitation, the gratification and honor of being present on the 17th inst., at the inauguration of the late statue of the revered and lamented statesman, Daniel Webster.

Accept my thanks for your courtesy, and believe me very truly,

Your friend and obedient servant,

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Hon. F. W. Lincoln, Jr., Otis Clapp, Esq., and others, Boston.

REVIVAL OF THE SLAVE TRADE.—'Occasional' writes from Washington to the *Philadelphia Press*:

'Mr. Jefferson Davis has formally announced it to be his purpose to introduce a bill, on the meeting of Congress, to repeal the penalties in the law against the African slave trade. This will bring a new and startling issue before the people of the Presidential campaign of 1860. My information from the South, authentic and recent, is to the effect that not only has this traffic been re-opened, but that it is now vigorously and flagrantly conducted. Some of the first men of the South are engaged in it, and it is asserted that a number of vessels have been chartered at Savannah, and are now absent for the purpose of landing cargoes before the beginning of winter. I forbear giving the names of the leaders in this enterprise; not because they themselves refuse to speak of their connection with it, but for other reasons not necessary to enumerate.

Owing to this state of things, the Administration have caused it to be ostentatiously announced that a coast guard is to be established from Charleston to New Orleans, and that a part of the Paraguay fleet will be sent into the Gulf for the purpose of enforcing the law. Deputy Marshals are to be stationed at all the available points, from Charleston to Mobile, so that you see a conflict is by no means among the improbabilities.'

THE JUSTICE OF SLAVERY IS CRUEL.

The Rev. John G. Fee, of Kentucky, writes as follows to the *Free South*, from Frankfort:

FRIEND BAILEY: I am at the capital with my family, for a very short time. I came here chiefly to visit, cheer, and look at the condition of that colored woman whom I emancipated some years since, and who was last March sentenced to imprisonment in the State prison for the term of three years, for the alleged crime of attempting to entice away from Slavery a part of her own children. We found her in good health, cheerful, grateful to God for the comparative comforts that surround her. She has, in the providence of God, comforts beyond her expectation; though she can read but imperfectly, she will be still more comforted by reading the word of God.

I found the keeper of the prison a sensible, gentlemanly, and an accommodating man.—He is fully aware that the prison could be managed on the part of the State, so as to be more favorable to the convicts. Instead of a superintendent being paid by the State, for the care of the prison, it is leased, with the services of the convicts, for a stipulated sum. It then becomes the pecuniary interest of the lessee to educe from each convict all labor possible, with as little expense as possible for his physical comfort, or mental or moral culture.

Inasmuch as most of these convicts will be again turned loose upon society, it is of the highest importance that the discipline should be reformatory in the highest degree possible. It is the interest as well as the duty of the people of Kentucky to demand this.

A strict discipline could be maintained, demanding regular physical labor, and yet a portion of each day allowed for moral culture—for the direct and personal labor of a faithful minister, who would be, not a mere hireling, but one who from special sympathy with convicts would choose the service—labor, not in occasional sermons, but personally with each one—placing such tracts, papers, or books, in the hands of each one as would be profitable, and suited to the state of the convict. There are now in the prison 278 convicts. These have as a general rule one sermon each Sabbath. But this is not all that could and ought to be done.

But why should we expect the people of Kentucky to care for those deprived of liberty for crime, when they have so little care for millions deprived of liberty without crime?—The people must be brought to feel for man as man, before they will be truly faithful to any class of men.

As I saw that colored mother sitting along with the assembly of convicts, I said, 'how capricious the decisions of human courts!' Here is one person—many punished for taking that which naturally and justly belongs to another—and there is a mother, punished for the alleged offence of attempting to get into a place of security that which naturally and justly belongs to herself; for if the mother who has borne and nursed a child at her own breast, and fed and clothed it with her own hand, does not naturally and justly own that child, so far as the claims of man is concerned, then there is no such thing as natural justice.

JOHN G. FEE.

—Practical proof that Kansas is a Slave State is offered in the following advertisement, taken from a Lecompton paper:

ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS REWARD.—I will pay the above reward to any person who will return to me, or lodge safely in jail, giving me notice thereof, a NEGRO WOMAN AND FIVE CHILDREN! The woman is black, heavy set, weighing about 160 pounds, and has a black spot between the eyebrows. The children are as follows: Lewis, a boy about nine years old, a mulatto; Limus and Cyrus, both black and younger; Ellen and Ann—one of them, Ellen, about two years old, the other about five months old, both mulattoes.

Lecompton, Sept. 2.

E. D. ROBERTS, M. D.

MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ITEMS.

—The recent election in Kansas has resulted in the adoption of the Wyandotte Constitution by a large majority.

—A young man from the North was ridden out of the town of Enfala (Ala.) on a rail on Saturday night last, on account of repeated expressions of abolition opinions indulged in after being warned that a persistence in such conduct could not be tolerated. This is the way free speech is tolerated at the South.

—Harriet Ashe, a colored woman in the city of Washington, has succeeded in raising a thousand dollars for the purchase of her son Edward. The benevolent persons who contributed to the worthy object will be gratified to learn that the effort in his behalf has been successful, and that the boy is now free.

—William M. Hodges, a gentleman from Virginia, wishing to liberate a woman and her children which have fallen to him by inheritance, has come on to New York to seek aid to purchase the husband and father of this family, and needs for this purpose \$700.

—Five slaves recently escaped from Missouri and made their way across the Mississippi into Randolph county. On Sunday night, 18th ult., their pursuers overtook them about five miles from Chester, Ill., and fired on them as they attempted to escape. One of them fell mortally wounded, with about two hundred shot in his body, and died on the Thursday morning following. Two of those who escaped were also wounded.

—An advertisement offering \$1,000 reward for the apprehension of a negro woman and five children, fugitive slaves, appears in one of the Lecompton papers. This is pretty good evidence of the existence of slavery in Kansas.

—Mrs. E. J. Tracy, writing to the Memphis Appeal from Holly Springs, Miss., having seen some negroes going to meeting on Sunday, says: 'As with the rapidity of thought I glance from such a scene to benighted Africa, sunk in moral degradation, over whose million of human souls the darkness of heathenism folds her sombre wings in rayless night, my heart swells with gratitude to the Great Father of all for the institution of American slavery.'

—There is in the city of Providence, R. I., a colored lady who is known by the name of Ganison. She is verging on fifty years of age. This woman was formerly not a woman, but merely a chattel—the slave of a planter in the South. She made her escape from bondage, and her value in dollars and cents was copiously set forth in the advertisements proclaiming a reward for her recovery. Obscure and unaided, she has, within the term of a few years, been chiefly instrumental in the escape of fifty male and female chattels, and she has not yet finished her labors.

—The United States District Attorney has filed with the Supreme Court of Wisconsin the mandate of the United States Supreme Court reversing the decision of the State Court, in the matter of Sherman M. Booth, held for violation of the Fugitive Slave Law, in the rescue of Glover. If the State Court obeys the mandate, Booth will be returned to the custody of the U. S. Marshal, from which he was discharged by the decision which has been reversed. If the Court does not obey the mandate, then it becomes the duty of the United States authority to enforce it.

—Attorney General Black recently gave an opinion that American citizenship attaches to a child born in this country, the parents of whom are foreigners and only temporary sojourners.

—It is stated that a fund of \$20,000 has already been invested in Massachusetts for the benefit of the children of Horace Mann.

—The Portland people are making great preparation to receive the Great Eastern, putting their hotels in order.

—A mammoth balloon is being made in New York by a Mr. Lowe. He is going to try to cross the Atlantic, and expects to reach London in forty-eight hours.

—The Hon. J. R. Giddings had his pocket picked of \$30 at the Vermont State Fair at Burlington last week. The Burlington Free Press says that a number of gentlemen immediately subscribed the amount, and gave it to him.

The biography of our friend, J. W. Loguen, will be ready in about three weeks. Orders should be sent in immediately.

In Marion County, Ga., last week, a slave of Benj. R. Matthews, stole three hundred dollars. Pursuit was commenced, and for thirty-six hours the negro was kept unceasingly on the run, fresh pursuers coming up to the chase. Just as the party gained on him, he fell dead in his tracks. A large bowie-knife was found in his clenched fist.

It is stated that Hon. J. R. Giddings will spend December and January in New England, delivering at different places his lecture on 'Scenes in Congressional Life.'

On the 27th ult., a piece of animated property, called George Bowlin, was put on the block at Carrollton, Green Co., Illinois, and sold to the highest bidder. His offense was a violation of the law which prohibits the immigration of negroes into the State. Having been tried and found guilty, he was fined \$63; and not being able to pay the money, he was sold to a man named Felix Mitchell for six months.—Illinois is a Free State!

The colored people of Jamaica have addressed a letter to the family of the late Joseph Sturge, expressing their heart-felt sympathy with the friends of religion, of justice and humanity at large, in 'that affecting Providence by which they have been called to sustain the loss of so distinguished a Christian and philanthropist.'

In the Cincinnati Probate Court, one day last week, Mr. J. G. Flowers of Clairborn Co., Miss., emancipated his negro woman Dawes and her four children. The oldest child is eight years, the youngest two months old.

The Rev. S. D. Storrs of Quindaro, Kansas, in a letter to the American Home Missionary Society says:—'Kansas is to-day suffering a hundred times more from intemperance than from all the political oppression to which she has been subjected.'

Among the passengers who sailed for Havre last Saturday, was John Mitchel, editor of the Citizen, and the man who longed for a plantation well stocked with slaves. The poor fellow's wish was never gratified, however.

Great excitement has recently been created at Madison, Ky., in consequence of the alleged discovery of a concocted plan of the slaves of that neighborhood to escape to Canada.

A remarkable case of eccentricity and meanness has recently come to light in Savannah. A Dr. Rinker was arrested and committed to prison for burying a colored girl, who had died, in the cellar of his house, to save the expense of a public interment. The girl died a natural death, and nothing but extreme penuriousness on the part of the master was the cause of such an indecent mode of sepulture.

Our readers will remember that the N. Y. Herald has been publishing startling stories, written by its Washington correspondent, of the enormous extent of the slave-trade between the Southern States of this Confederacy and the coast of Africa. The correspondent said that his authority was an United States Senator.—In a letter written on Friday last, he says that it was Senator Stephen A. Douglas.

The Republicans of Massachusetts have re-nominated Gov. Banks for Governor without opposition.

A company recently organized in New York have begun the manufacture of photographs on porcelain, china or glass vases, &c. Photographs of persons, places, &c., are reproduced with wonderful accuracy and distinctness.

Mr. Peter Freeler, who was a slave to a Mr. Whitbeck, of Coxsackie, when slavery was allowed and existed in this State, now owns about one hundred acres of land in the State of Ohio, and is an industrious and thrifty farmer. His wife was also a slave until he purchased her freedom of another master, for which he gave \$100. The two sons of Mr. Whitbeck are thrifty farmers, and live within a mile or two of Mr. Freeler, whose residence is at Constantia.

The Fraternity course of lectures in Boston for the ensuing winter, includes the following names: Geo. Sumner, Whipple, Curtis, Emerson, Beecher, Carl Schurz, Frederick Douglass, Bayard Taylor, Higginson, Garrison, Chapin, Phillips, and Grace Greenwood. The Traveler says that this will be the leading lecture course in that city.

Douglas has lost his only South Carolina organ. The Edgefield Advertiser, which has hitherto advocated his nomination, says that his article in Harper's Magazine renders it impossible for the South to support him.

The betrayers of Dr. Doy of Kansas, while he was conducting a party of twenty-six fugitive slaves from Lawrence to Iowa, last winter, are discovered to have been Garvin, the late postmaster; Huzzy, a supposed friend of the expedition; and Whitley, a spy among the slaves. They made \$75 apiece by the operation, and separated in disgust, each charging upon the other the crime of keeping back part of the price. The citizens of Lawrence have just arrested Huzzy and Whitley, who confess their crimes. Garvin is at Pike's Peak.

The Toronto Leader of Wednesday says: To-day his Excellency the Governor-General, his family and staff, leave Toronto for Quebec, the ancient as well as present capital of Canada. Two or three Ministers may remain a few days longer, and perhaps a stray member of the Government may not depart till the end of the month. But, with the departure of the Governor-General, Toronto ceases to be the capital of the Province, and Quebec rises to the importance which that position is capable of conferring upon it.

A decision has been rendered in one of the District Courts of New Orleans, pronouncing the new statute forbidding free negroes from congregating with slaves, except under certain rules, to be constitutional.

Bennett of the New York Herald thinks that Mr. Seward will certainly be elected President in 1860, unless the South shall secede from the Union and erect an independent Republic.

The New York mechanics are taking measures to assist their brother mechanics in London who are now on a strike. Money has already been sent over to their assistance.

—The Treasurer of the New York State Colonization Society acknowledges the receipt of twenty-five thousand dollars, being a donation from 'a friend' towards a college endowment in Africa.

—An 'Irrepressible Conflict' Club was started in Utica on Wednesday, suggested by the harping of Erastus Brooks & Co. upon the language of Senator Seward as to the 'irrepressible conflict' existing between Slavery and Freedom. The members are pledged to maintain an untiring and ceaseless vigilance in opposing the designs of the Slave Power and its allies, the Sham Democracy and the Sham Americans.

—A movement is on foot in the western part of Canada, having for its object the emigration of colored persons to Jamaica. Nearly a week ago about fifty had resolved to go.—They are to be provided with free passages; and the Government of Jamaica guarantees them employment or to provide for their subsistence till employment can be found.

—Mrs. Webb, the accomplished colored lady whose dramatic reading of passages of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' are pleasantly remembered by many of our readers, died at Jamaica, of consumption, on the 17th of June last.

Recent advices from Hayti state that the daughter of President Geffrard had been shot dead while sitting in her father's chair, from the Palace Gardens, on the evening of the 3d inst. There was great excitement in consequence.

SENT TO JAIL FOR COLOR.—Color of skin from African blood has been made a crime in New Orleans! By a new regulation to go into effect on the 1st of September, all free persons of color arriving in New Orleans must immediately be lodged in jail until the departure of the boat or vessel on which they arrived. What further African oppression can Slavery devise?

It is no marvel that the old, wealthy respectable and intelligent free colored citizens of Louisiana are emigrating to Hayti by hundreds. Gen. Jackson publicly thanked his black soldiers who bravely battled at the Victory of New Orleans. The old veterans and their descendants will now be lodged in jail should they visit the city that should honor them as defenders in the hour of imminent peril. Monstrous wrong and ingratitude.—Leader.